The DAILY WORKER Raises the Standard for a Workers' and Farmers' Government

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AS WE SEE IT

By T. J. O'FLAHERTY

PARTLY hidden away in a remote corner of last Wednesday's Chicago Tribune was a little news item that had the kick of a Missouri mule in it. According to the story, the French government handed over to the Soviet government the Russian ships that were held in a French port, pending certain negotiations that were taking place between Paris and Moscow. Evidently the negotiations ended in agreement.

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THE fleet includes dreadnaughts, battle cruisers, destroyers and submarines, a valuable acquisition to the Red navy in the Black Sea. Roumania will see red and Britain will find her prospects blacker than ever. It appears that Russia and France have come to terms over the delicate question of indebtedness, and from what we read of, the terms are very favorable to the Russian workers and peasants under the circumstances. Russia agrees to pay the small French bond holders what they lent Russia under the old regime, but the payments will be made in paper francs and not in gold. Those who know the present condition of the franc will get the point.

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UNDER the terms of the agreement, granting that the reports are correct, France agrees to extend large credits to the Soviet government in return for a contract to help in the reconstruction of Russian industries. Britain is looking at this phenomenon with a jaundiced eye. Franco-Russian companies will be formed to exploit mines, forests, factories, and oil fields in Russia. The agreement explains recent tight rope walking stunts on the part of Briand, French premier.

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WHEN Britain began organizing an anti-Soviet bloc, France appeared to be receptive. Briand replied to Chamberlain's invitation to come in and share in the fun, with an acceptance in principle, practically complimenting the British on their altruistic work in behalf of civilization, but hinting that France had not yet arrived at the state of human perfection which would permit her to participate in such hazardous sport. It seems that Chamberlain went ahead as if France were willing, like Barkis in Dickens' novel.

* * *

IN the meantime, France had a commission in Moscow which was negotiating over the old debts and other matters. Only last week Briand flew over to Britain and climbed up the backstairs at Downing street to have a very, very secret conversation with the British foreign secretary. So serious was the situation that the wily Frenchman insisted that nothing must be discussed except matters on which there is mutual agreement. During the discussion, if discussion it may be called, Briand flashed the tentative agreement between France and Russia on Chamberlain, and politely inquired how was the security pact getting along?

* * *

BRIAND was awfully glad to see England trying to protect civilization from Bolshevism. Really, France is doing the same thing in Morocco, only in Morocco civilization is being saved from the inferior culture of Abd-el-Krim. Briand asked Chamberlain for a match and snickered as much as to say, "You know what I mean and I know what you mean. We are a pair of damn liars and none of us believes the other." The newspapers said that Chamberlain and Briand were in perfect harmony. They were, simply because they discussed nothing.

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FRANCE was once the most bitter enemy of Soviet Russia in Eu-

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STOP WORK TO VOTE UPON A BIG WALKOUT

Garment Workers to Answer Sigman Gang

This issue of the DAILY WORKER went to press too early to obtain news of the stoppage demonstration of the cloak and dressmakers of New York City, called by the Joint Action Committee of Locals 2, 9 and 22 for late Thursday afternoon as spoken of in the following dispatch on the eve of the demonstration:

* * *

NEW YORK CITY, Aug. 20.—The stoppage today is the culmination of a fight between the three locals and the officials of the union which has been going on for over two months. It is called as a protest against the interference of the employers in this internal union quarrel, to warn them not to take advantage of the present situation to lower the standards in the shops and also to reiterate the demands of the three locals for reinstatement of their expelled officers, for the resignation of President Sigman, and for a reorganization of the New York Joint Board of the union.

With banners and brass bands the workers are to march from their shops to ten meeting halls on lower Manhattan, and there vote as to whether a general stoppage shall be called in the industry to enforce the demands of these locals which comprise 60 per cent of the union members in New York City.

To Call Sigman-Boss Combine's Bluff.

"This will be the greatest demonstration held in this city for years," says Louis Hyman, chairman of the Joint Committee of Action, "and we expect it to show, once and for all, that the majority of the workers are behind our three locals in their fight for a reorganized, democratic union. The Joint Board has held out against us by asserting constantly that we are but a handful of troublemakers in the union.

"But this stoppage will prove that the mass of the membership is in this battle and intends to force the officials of the union to listen to them. They are refusing to be terrorized by gangsters or by threats of employers. They intend to win this fight for a union cleared of its corrupt political machine, and run by the workers themselves."

No Legal Bar to Left Wing Picketing.

An important decision was rendered in Jefferson Market court by Magistrate Richard McKiniry in the case of two members of the three suspended locals who had been arrested for picketing.

This was a case to test the right of these workers to picket peacefully and they were arrested in front of 164 West 25th street, on a technical charge of disorderly conduct. The officer testified that the two picketers were creating no disturbance and that they were not blocking traffic.

Magistrate McKiniry ruled that no matter what faction or what union a person belongs to, or whether he belongs to no union at all, he may go on strike, and it is perfectly lawful for him to picket peacefully and he is not subject to arrest. This ruling will make it impossible for the Joint Board to continue its provocative tactics in front of shops where the Joint Committee of Action has declared a strike. These strikes have been called in shops where workers were discharged by order of the Joint Board for their sympathy with Locals 2, 9 and 22.

Crouch and Trumbull Are Imprisoned at Alcatraz

(Special to The Daily Worker)

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Aug. 20.—Paul Crouch and Walter Trumbull, victims of U. S. army court martial from the Schofield Barracks in the Hawaiian Islands, have arrived here by army transport on August 14. Their case is being legally cared for by the International Labor Defense, which has engaged Attorney Austin Lewis to work for their release.

The two soldiers, who have declared their adhesion to the Communist movement, for which declaration they were made the victims of military persecution and illegal verdicts of a military court are now imprisoned in the infamous military prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay—a prison noted for its harsh and brutal treatment of all soldiers who fall into the clutches of courts martial.

I. L. D. Continues the Fight.

The International Labor Defense, which has already contributed materially to the legal defense of the prisoners when efforts were made by the labor movement of Hawaii to save them from persecution, has taken up the case on the mainland and is vigorously pressing the case in the ninth U. S. district court at San Francisco.

The first move in the case made by the International Labor Defense is already taken with the engagement of the noted labor attorney, Austin Lewis, to fight the legal battle for the release of Crouch and Trumbull from Alcatraz prison.

Noted Lawyer for I. W. W. Engaged.

Austin Lewis, who was the attorney for Richard Ford and Herman Suhr, victims of the Wheatland hop pickers' strike 12 years ago, as well as the defender of a great many more recent cases of the I. W. W. victims of California reaction, is proceeding with the necessary documentation to enter the courts in San Francisco with a demand for release of Crouch and Trumbull as being illegally imprisoned.

Before their living burial behind the silent walls of their island prison began, the two Communist soldiers sent final farewell greetings to the revolutionary workers of all the world, thanked the International Labor Defense and all other friends who had aided them and emphatically re-asserted their pledge that when their term is over they will emerge with their convictions only strengthened by prison, to work for the proletarian revolution.

DELIGHTFUL—BUT HOW ABOUT THE WORKERS

AMALGAMATED OFFICIAL TAKEN TO WAUKEGAN, JAILED IN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE FRAME-UP, BAIL $8,000

Sidney Rissman, assistant manager of the joint board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, was arrested at his home yesterday, and taken to Waukegan on a warrant charging "conspiracy," and later released on $8,000 bond.

Rissman's arrest was instigated by the Waukegan chamber of commerce, which is attempting to frame-up the Amalgamated for a raid on a tailor shop here last week and thus aid the International Tailoring company break the strike of the company's employes in Chicago.

Rissman was taken from his Chicago home by a deputy sheriff, and lodged in jail here on the "conspiracy" charge, after being arraigned before justice of the peace H. C. Coulson. His bond was placed at $10,000.

Hearing on August 29.

The Amalgamated's Waukegan lawyers brot Rissman before circuit Judge C. C. Edwards on a writ of habeas corpus, and attempted to obtain a reduction in the bonds. Edwards set the bail at $8,000.00 and set the case for hearing August 29.

That the chamber of commerce, working in alliance with the charmber of commerce in Chicago, which has aided the International company, is back of the arrest is evidenced by statements made by Frank Fowler, secretary of the chamber of commerce at the Waukegan council meeting August 17.

Fowler pointed out that the chamber of commerce had offered a reward of a thousand dollars for anyone fastened with the acid throwing—and the chamber of commerce prefers to frame-up union men.

Fowler, a former Chicago alderman, closely connected with the Chicago manufacturers, said in the council meeting that J. V. Balz, a city commissioner and ex-officio chief of police, was "the greatest exponent of inefficiency I have ever known", because he did not bring in union men and charge them with the acid throwing.

The warrant for Rissman's arrest was signed by States Attorney A. Smith.

Strikers in Court Today.

The sixteen members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers charged with "conspiracy" will appear before Judge John Lyle at the Maxwell St. police court this morning for hearing. William A. Cunnea, lawyer for the Amalgamated, will ask for a change of venue, because Judge Lyle has already stated he believes some of the union men guilty of slugging.

Most of the union members, who were arrested following a raid on the Amalgamated headquarters conducted by Mike Grady, slugging cop, on a search warrant signed by Ray Reeder, secretary of the International Tailoring Company, are striking employes of the firm.

Not only the raids and arrests conducted by the Amalgamated, but the arrest yesterday of Rissman, are declared by Amalgamated members to be attempts of the garment bosses to break the strike.

Three pickets were arrested yesterday. They were Florence Nathan, Mary Shymeheck and Hymen Frank. All were released on bail. The three strikers were merely walking the picket line when arrested.

Financial Aid Pledged.

At the meeting of shop chairmen of the Amalgamated held in the Labor Lyceum, Ogden and Kedzie avenues, all present pledged as much financial aid to the strikers as is necessary to bring the conflict to a successful conclusion.

'MAJAH' BERRY AS LOOTER OF UNION FUNDS

Chicago Press Get on His Crooked Trail

This is the seventh of a series of articles exposing the crooked career of George L. Berry, president of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union. The members of the international union are now determined to get rid of Berry and Berryism.

* * *

For a long time there was a general feeling among the most active members of the International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union that there was something wrong with the financial management of the international union. The editorial in the Rogersville Review convinced the membership that Berry was playing for big stakes and that he was using the funds of the union to further his own political and business ambitions.

After August 31, 1918, financial reports ceased to come from headquarters altho the laws of the union demand that reports of the secretary-treasurer must be sent out every three months.

The international union had an income of $400,000 per annum, had loaned large sums of money from the pension fund in "real estate investments" but had not taken up the mortgage held on the home by the Hawkins county bank for eight years, which amounted to only $20,000, a very small sum compared to what was loaned out on real estate investments. According to Orr's reports all other funds were taken out of the pension fund.

A Second Henry Ford.

It should not be forgotten that when Berry ran for the democratic nomination for vice-president of the United States, his publicity staff enumerated the number of industrial enterprises he launched. Every one of those enterprises was financed by money taken from the pension fund and war emergency fund. This money was subscribed by the members of the union, and here was the "majah" posing as a secnod edition of Henry Ford, and climbing up the ladder of his ambition built from the money wrung from the sweat and blood of the members of the intrenational union. Is it any wonder that the members of the international union revolted? And it is because they protested against this kind of conduct that men like Barney Nolan, Jim

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THREATS AND LIES FAIL TO FREE GERMAN FASCIST TERRORISTS WHO CONFESSED ANTI-SOVIET DESIGNS

MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.—The three German fascists, Kindermann, Dittmar and Wolscht, who were sentenced to death by a Soviet court, failed to gain their freedom by hysterically lieing just before the court passed sentence. Only Dittmar, who declared his visit had changed his opinions of the Soviet Union stood by his confessions to the last.

Kindermann, by trying to explain his confession "psychologically", enmeshed himself in numerous contradictions. Wolscht was defiant, and declared the German fascists would have revenge.

The German legationsrat, Hilger, appeared in court. He came to the trial from the embassy, to attempt to save the fascists who admitted planning attempts on the life of Trotsky and Stalin, and other anti-Soviet terroristic plots.

Organization Consul[illegible]icked Trip.

The defending counsel, Duchovski, made a declaration to the effect that he did not feel himself in a position to deliver the speech for the defense of Kindermann as the accused had maintained no contact with him thruout the course of the whole proceedings and had given him no indication

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IMPERIALISTS REFUSE AUTONOMY TO CHINA, EVEN ON ITS TARIFF

(Special to The Daily Worker)

TOKIO, August 20.—It was learned officially here today that the imperialist powers have decided to refuse China's request that the question of customs autonomy be included in the agenda of the Peking customs conference scheduled to open October 26.

It has been agreed by the eight powers signatory to the Washington treaty, it was learned, that the conference agenda shall embrace only the matters stipulated by the Washington treaty.

After the conclusion of the customs conference, the powers will hear China's requests for consideration of extraneous subjects and decide then what action is to be taken on such requests.

A note conveying this decision to China is being prepared.

Bomb Placed at Home of Union Pressman

WORKERS PARTY OPENS FOURTH CONVENTION AT CHICAGO TODAY

The fourth convention of the Workers (Communist) Party of America will open at 2 p. m. this afternoon, at Imperial Hall, 2409 North Halsted St.

Delegates from the various districts were arriving Wednesday and Thursday in preparation for the convention which is to unite all Communist elements in the party against the non-Communist right wing, which the Communist International has pointed out as the enemy of the unity and Bolshevization of the party.

There are 54 delegates to be seated, and the delegates supporting the Central Executive Committee are in overwhelming majority of the convention, the minority faction having won only one district convention completely, that of Pittsburgh, with all other districts except Boston being carried by the Central Executive Committee, many of them, as Chicago, not even electing a single delegate supporting the opposition to the C. E. C.

The decision of the Communist International upon the points at dispute, however was given recently, in which the errors it stated had been found on both sides have been corrected and a new program given of Bolshevization, reorganization and unity of the Communist elements in both groups to fight the right wing danger which menaces the unity of the party.

Unity upon the basis of the resolutions, adopted unanimously by the Parity Commission, is expected to be the keynote of the present convention. The first two conventions of the party were held in New York, the

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BERRY'S GANG SUSPECTED OF TERROR REIGN

Girl Stamps Out Lighted Fuse; Saves Lives

The night after the home of James King, locked out Cuneo pressman, was shot up by gangsters believed to be acting under the direction of Chicago agents of George L. Berry, president of the I. P. P and A. U., an attempt was made to blow up the home of Jimmy Brandt, 4220 North Whipple street. Brandt is an active leader in the fight against Berry and his tool,

(Continued on page 2)

Halt Wall St. Propaganda in Mongolia

PEKING, August 20.—The decision of the Mongolian government not to permit further researches in Mongolia by the American Museum of Natural History under the leadership of Roy Chapman Andrews, because of alleged interference in politics by members of the party was delivered to Andrews here today.

ARMED ZEIGLER MINERS DEFEND HOMES AGAINST TERRORIZATION BY KLAN AND FARRINGTON GANG

ZEIGLER, Ill., August 20.—With the whips of hunger, union blacklist of the Farrington machine, the menace of prison and even armed force, the dark forces combined in the coal operator Farrington-faker-ku-klux-klan conspiracy are trying to crush the revolt of the Zeigler miners who struck more than ten days ago against the illegal removal of Henry Corbishley and other local union officers by the traitorous officials, Fox and Cobb of Sub-District 9 of the Illinois District 12 of the U. M. W. of A.

Last night, Zeigler flew to arms after keeping all night vigil yesterday, when word came that the hated K. K. K. were about to stage a raid of terrorization to frighten the miners back to work in behalf of Farrington and the coal operators.

All available firearms were pressed into service and dozens of miners were deputized by the anti-klan mayor, Murphy Smith. The long string of flats, the buildings where scores of miners' families live, were veritable barracks, with miners standing as sentries all night.

Nor is this all play and practice for the miners' vigilance had its result in the fact that the K. K. K. altho it sent scout auto cars into Zeigler, got cold feet when these scouts reported that the Zeigler miners were prepared to defend their families and their homes.

Refuse to be Terrorized.

The K. K. K. had gathered from four southern counties, keagles, kowards and all, to make a raid to terrorize the Zeigler miners and frighten them back to work. But they got

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'MAJAH' BERRY AS LOOTER OF UNION FUNDS

Chicago Press Get on His Crooked Trail

(Continued from page 1)

Bagley and David Simons in New York and the pressmen's union in Chicago were crucified by this capitalist stoolpigeon and fake patriot.

Another Grafting Scheme.

About this time, Berry sent out his call for the "war emergency fund" assessment. Many of the local unions feeling that Berry would loot it as he had looted the pension fund, voted against it. The "majah" made use of all the patriotic bunk that the capitalists were using to make the workers believe they were fighting for something noble instead fo the filthy dollars of the House of Morgan. Berry waved the American flag before the eyes of the membership. But the members of Pressmen's Union No. 3 were not fooled.

In August, 1919, William J. Geary and John J. Collins, school and home trustees, appeared before the executive committee of the Chicago Printing Pressmen's Union No. 3 of which they were members and stated that they were not satisfied with the financial reports sent ont by Secretary-Treasurer Orr. Geary and Collins informed the executive board of No. 3 that no meetings of the international executive board were held for one year and that they wanted an investigation into the financial affairs of the internatoinal union. The members then gave Collins and Geary and the executive board of No. 3 power to take up the matter of a complete investigation of the financial affairs of the international union.

When this information reached the "majah" he got the political shivers. Diplomatic illness is a most convenient malady when a person wants to evade some unpleasant duty. So when Trustee Collins was to install the home trustees and the officers of the international union for the ensuing two years Berry got conveniently stricken with illness. Secretary-Treasurer Orr was in Cincinnati at the time. President Berry was in Chicago two days before the installation of the officers, altho this fact was unknown at the time to either trustees and the board of directors, Berry jumped to Cincinnati. Berry was invited to Chicago but he claimed the expense was too much. This from a man who burned up more than $150,000 in breaking the pressmen's strike in New York in 1919.

All the officers and trustees with the exception of Berry and Orr were installed in Chicago. The "majah" instructed Trustee Collins to come to Cincinnati to install Berry and Orr. Berry was not concerned with the expense. What he was worried about was a joint meeting of the trustees and the board of directors.

On the advice of the executive board of Pressmen's Union No. 3, Trustees Geary and Collins went to Cincinnati for the double purpose of installing the two fakers and also to put certain questions to them.

When they arrived in Cincinnati the "majah" was sick in bed. He was so sick that he could not ever crawl out from the sheets to get installed. Callins had to "annoit" him in bed.

Collins and Geary put several leading questions to Berry and Orr concerning the financial condition of the home properties. Berry said that they could go to the home and investigate if they wished, an impossible proceeding, or else they could return to Chicago and propound questions for submission to him, embodying what the pressmen wanted to know about the affairs of the international union.

Framed the Questions.

The trustes returned to Chicago and after consulting with the officers of Local No. 3, fourteen questions relating to the financial affairs of the international union were addressed to Berry. The letter containing the questions was signed by Wm. L. Haas, president and John J. Knapp, secretary-treasurer.

Despite this investigation by Pressmen's Local No. 3, Berry claimed that "not one written line of protest or claim of irregularity or dishonesty have ever been submitted to the officers of the International Union." And in addition to the investigation, Berry had received a letter from the officers of Pressmen's Union No. 3, demanding an explanation of the "unaccounted for balance of $20,285.41" in the pension fund. Berry left for France to work for the House of Morgan shortly after the investigation into his money transactions were initiated.

Called First Conference.

In February, 1919, the Philadelphia Pressmen's Union sent out a call for a conference to talk over matters concerning the affairs of the union. Locals from Chicago, New York and St. Louis attended. There were no plans formulated at that conference but in April of the same year a conference was held in Chicago at which 23 unions were represented, coming from all parts of the country.

At this conference the delegates learned how Berry juggled the referendum on the war emergency assessment. The Chicago pressmen explained that they had taken legal action to prevent Berry from forcing them to pay the assessment.

It developed that the Clinchfield Mercantile company, the Clinchfield Hydro-Electric company and the Clinchfield Land and Lumber company were the personal properties of "Majah" George L. Berry and were incorporated under their names in the state of Tennessee.

* * *

The next article of this series will continue the expose of Berry's juggling of the funds of the International Union.

Steck Holds His Lead.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20.—With the recount complete in 61 counties, Daniel F. Steck, democrat, has a lead of 11,025 votes over Senator Smith W. Brookhart in the contested Iowa senatorial election, the senate elections committee announced today.

The total uncontested vote was: Steck, 246,174; Brookhart, 235,149.

A total of 5,641 individual ballots was challenged, of which 4,296 were cast for Brookhart and 1,345 for Steck.

Quake Busy In Japan.

TOKIO, Aug. 20.—Aicha and Gifu prefectures were shaken by an earthquake early today. Clocks were stopped in Nagoya and other cities, but no serious damage has been reported. The temblor frightened the populace badly.

HEBREW BUTCHERS SEEK AGREEMENT FOR WAGE RAISE

No More 7-Day Week Demanded

By ABE KLEIN.

The officers of the Hebrew Butchers Local Union 596 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America are engaged in negotiating an agrement to replace the old agreement which expires on Sept. 1.

The demands of the Hebrew butchers are a raise of $5 per week for apprentices, from $35 to $40, and for first hand butchers from $46 to $50 per week. The men now work seven days a week, and they demand that they be allowed Sunday off, as they are inhumanly driven at present with a working week of 70 hours.

No understanding has been reached at present, but the men are determined that these demands shall be granted even if they have to strike for them, should the bosses continue their refusal.

The negotiating committee for the union consists of the president, business agent, secretary and other local union officials.

AS WE SEE IT

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rope. But a great change has taken place. Soviet Russia is getting strong while France is getting weak. Britain has now taken France's place as the leading foe of the workers' republic. But Britain will be sorry she assumed the responsibility. Japan in Asia and France in Europe have now come to terms, with the Soviet power. This will be taken by the socialists to mean that the Soviet government has surrendered to the capitalists. It is the other way around.

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BOTH powers, Japan and France fought Russia until they both learned they were biting granite. Soviet Russia is gradually building up her industries. Even without foreign credits this can be done slowly. With foreign credits it can be done more rapidly. The workers and peasants retain political power and the masses are being constantly educated along Communist lines. In the capitalist countries the revolutinary movement countries the revolutionary movement of Soviet Russia are being built with the aid of foreign credits those very powers who are granting the credits see the workers in their own countries every day increasing their power and preparing to become the ruling class. It is an interesting study.

Hold U. S.-Canadian Confab.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20.—A conference to agree upon regulations for the enforcement of the anti-smuggling treaty between the United States and Canada started at the treasury department.

Fire Routs Parisites.

OCEAN GROVE, N. J., Aug. 20.—Fire early today swept the North End hotel, a seaside resort here, driving 400 guests from their rooms and destroying the hotel.

Build the DAILY WORKER.

AMERICAN DELEGATES SAIL TO ATTEND SOVIET ACADEMY CELEBRATION

NEW YORK, Aug. 20.—James P. Goodrich, former governor of Indiana, sailed for Soviet Russia today.

Goodrich was accompanied by Dr. F. A. Golder, of Leland Stanford University. Both are delegates to the 200th anniversary of the organization of the academy of sciences in Leningrad.

REPORT PROVES BOAT DISASTER DUE TO NEGLECT

Profit Greed Imperiled Lives of 700

NEWPORT, R. I., Aug. 20.—Forty dead, others still hovering in agony between life and death and many of the 60 injured doomed to be blinded and disfigured for life—this is the terrible toll recorded thus far in the excursion steamer Mackinac boiler explosion disaster.

The cause of the disaster is laid entirely to capitalist greed. The state investigators' report states they found the boiler old, deteriorated by wear and thinned down in many places and not in a condition to be used. Many repairs in the boiler prove that it was completely worn out.

The steamer, built in Wisconsin in 1909, is reported to have suffered from boiler trouble all summer and even this trip was delayed because a patch had to be welded on the boiler. In this condition the boat was used and the lives of 700 excursionists were imperiled with the resulting disaster.

As young people were dancing to the strains of a jazz orchestra, there was a concussion followed by a cloud of steam. Stifled by the steam and with their flesh cooked, men, women and children rushed blindly about the decks, some of them leaping overboard.

The bursting of a pipe in the bottom of the boat caused the disaster.

Berry's Gang Is Suspected of This New Terror Reign

(Continued from page 1)

local President Crambart of Franklin Union No. 4.

This morning about 7:15 o'clock, when Miss Mabel Clark, who lives on the second floor of the same address, was going to work, she found two one-pound sticks of dynamite, heavily covered with friction tape, in the hall entrance door. A long piece of fuse was lighted. With remarkable presence of mind she stamped out the fuse and threw the dynamite into the adjoining lot.

When Brandt was notified he went to pick up the dynamite and by that time several children between the ages of four and ten were playing with the bomb. Brandt took the dynamite into the house.

In the meantime Officer McCarthy from the Irving Park station called at the house and took the dynamite to the station.

The apartment is filled with women and children, and but for the presence of mind of Miss Clark it is more than likely that several lives would be lost.

The bombing is attributed to the activity of Jimmy Brandt in fighting against Berry and his cohorts and also the scab printing companies in Chicago that fear a new leadership in the union.

During the last election in the union Brandt carried on a vigorous campaign against Berry and President Crambert of Franklin Union No. 4. A slugging committee was organized to beat up the progressives, including Brandt, but the sluggers got the worst of it.

Further developments in the shooting up of the home of James King, 2622 North Austin avenue, are:

A woman who lives in a neighboring house witnessed the shooting which took place about 11:30 Tuesday night. This woman saw a red-faced individual who was sitting beside the chauffeur in an automobile get up on the porch of King's home and look thru the window. He then came down on the sidewalk and fired three shots thru the window.

The police from Craigin avenue station are now investigating the shooting. Mrs. King is in a very nervous state over the incident, as she is afraid the gunmen may return at any time.

There is a good-sized hole in the dining room door of King's home, where the bullet went thru.

The lockout at the Cuneo printing plant is still on, with the men who walked out confident that they can defeat Berry and the printing bosses.

The Keogh Printing Company, which locked out the pressmen, feeders and compositors three weeks ago, settled with the unions.

Max Mason, professor of mathematical physics of the University of Wisconsin, will be the next president of the University of Chicago, beginning with the fall term, Oct. 1st. The University of Chicago has been without a president since the death of President Ernest De Witt Burton last May.

Lawson Fought Chicago's Workers with His Daily News for Fifty Years

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

TODAY, "Vic" Lawson, anti-labor publisher of the Chicago Daily News, lies dead in his stone castle on the North Shore "Gold Coast" while thousands of jobless trooped as ever to the "slave market," in Wells and Madison streets, to buy his sheet and study the want ads.

"Vic" Lawson passes, much like Eastman, of the Daily Journal, who died recently, both hailed as "personal editors," but the papers they owned and controlled never missed an edition, continuing publication as if nothing had happened to their proprietors.

* * * *

"Vic" Lawson hardly ever appeared openly in his paper fighting labor, like General Otis, the notorious "open shop" editor and owner of the Los Angeles Times, who personally conducted the labor-crushing campaigns inaugurated by his paper. But the Daily News was and will continue one of the most bitter anti-labor sheets in the land.

Lawson was not an editor. He was more a business manager. Every conceivable means was exploited to win circulation, which means the much sought after "State Street" advertising, with its millions of dollars in annual income.

* * * *

Lawson got his Daily News started nearly half a century ago, during the hard fought railroad strike of 1877, when his sheet poured out a flood of special editions upholding the railroad barons as they conducted their ruthless warfare against railroad labor; 10 massacred at the 16th Street tracks in Chicago, 20 murdered in Pittsburgh, with the state militia under arms thruout the entire east and the middle west.

Since that bloody summer of 1877, down thru the nearly half century that has passed, "Vic" Lawson's Daily News has been in the vanguard of the capitalist attack against the workers. It has always held close to John M. Glenn's Illinois Manufacturers' Association, that led in the fight to smash the Illinois Mine Workers' Union during the troubles growing out of the mine owners' efforts to establish "open shop" conditions at Herrin, in Williamson county.

The Daily News has been the Chicago mouthpiece of the attack against the Communists. The last drive consisted of the billboarding over the entire city and vicinity of huge advertisements announcing the "Spolansky Anti-Red Articles," that were later prominently featured.

* * * *

In spite of its deliberate and carefully planned anti-labor policy, the Daily News for a time boasted of the greatest afternoon circulation of any capitalist daily. The workers bought it and imbibed its poison.

After more than a quarter century of struggle, however, Hearst's American has finally overtaken it. Hearst came to Chicago as "a friend of labor." He got circulation. Then he became respectably anti-labor and was richly rewarded with paying advertising patronage. But the workers still duped continue to buy and read this Hearst organ.

* * * *

None will now sing the praises of "Vic" Lawson louder than this same Hearst sheet. It will be joy over a crippled competitor. But that does not concern workers interested in the rise to power of their class.

If labor correctly studies the life and deeds of "Vic" Lawson, it will draw the lesson that labor must fight its own battles, if it would win.

Chicago labor has its own daily paper, the DAILY WORKER. Chicago labor turned its patronage from Lawson's Daily News to Hearst's American, only to find itself betrayed, because both are capitalist dailies, fighting on the side of the exploiters. Chicago labor must turn again, turn to its own paper, the DAILY WORKER, build its circulation up into the hundreds of thousands, and make it a power able to fight successfully against the robber class.

Workers Party Opens Fourth Convention in Chicago Today

(Continued from page 1)

third was held at Chicago in the last days of December, 1923, and the early days of January, 1924.

The delegates by districts are as follows:

Chicago—7 delegates for the C. E. C.

New York—7 for the C. E. C., 4 for opposition.

Buffalo—2 delegates for the C. E. C.

Detroit—2 for the C. E. C., 1 for the opposition.

Cleveland—3 for the C. E. C., 1 for the opposition.

Minnesota—5 for the C. E. C.

California—3 for the C. E. C.

Oregon and Washington District—2 delegates for the C. E. C.

Connecticut—1 for the C. E. C.

Philadelphia—2 for the C. E. C., 1 for the opposition.

Boston—2 for the C. E. C., 3 for the opposition.

Pittsburgh—3 for opposition.

BRITISH LION'S TAIL TWISTED BY CANTONESE

LONDON, Aug. 20.—The order of the South China government excluding British and Japanese vessels from Chinese ports continued today to perplex the foreign office.

The situation was serious enuf to call back Foreign Minister Chamberlain from his summer holiday. He returned to Downing street today.

While the foreign office openly attributes the Canton government's discriminatory shipping regulations to Bolshevistic influence, the situation has perplexing aspects due to the fact that Great Britain has not recognized the Canton regime. The foreign office can therefore deal officially only with the Peking government, and the latter is powerless to assert any effective authority over the Cantonese politicians.

SILLINSKY IS CANDIDATE FOR A.F.OF L. MEET

Gives J. T. U. of A. Left Wing Program

CLEVELAND, Ohio, August 20. — Max J. Sillinsky, left wing candidate for delegate to the coming American Federation of Labor convention from the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, has issued a statement to the membership, outlining his program.

Sillinsky declares that the government is controlled by the employers, and that labor must not only fight the "open shop" but must act politically as a class in its own party, independent of the capitalist class. Sillinsky ran against the reactionary machine candidate Thomas Sweeney for secretary-treasurer of the union in the last union elections, and received a large vote.

Sillinsky's letter to the union members follows:

Cleveland, O., Aug. 6, 1925.

Brothers:—

I have accepted the nomination for delegate to the coming American Federation of Labor convention with a thoro understanding of the duties of a delegate to that body. Always fighting for principles, in committee and on the convention floor, I have consistently defended the interests of our organization in all jurisdictional disputes and in all matters of general principles.

The recent decision of the Ohio state supreme court against the Street Carmen's Union of Cleveland, and injunctions issued against unions in times of strikes, are reminders of what the workers are now coming to accept without argument—that the government is in control of the employing class, and that it is using its political power to increase profits and keep down the workers.

History offers abundant proof that what little has been gained by labor from a capitalist government has come from the exercise of labor's political power. There has developed in the United States the world's most powerful financial oligarchy, whose purpose it is to destroy the unions. The "American plan" is the policy of this oligarchy which is dominating our government from city councils to Washington. To oppose the "American plan" and the open shop campaign is to fight not only the control of industry by the financial interests, but their political power as well.

Labor must adopt at once the policy of voting as a class for its own candidates. Labor should abandon forever its non-partisan policy of supporting the old party politician who before election shouts the loudest in favor of labor. Parties which represent business interests, not only those of Wall Street, but also of the smaller fry, who are no less anxious than the big interests to grind out of labor every possible penny—such parties must be repudiated by labor.

In the struggle against capitalism, final victory is certain if the workers will close up their ranks and march forward with determined spirit and fighting policies under amalgamation with other needle trades unions and the banner of the class struggle to the free society of the future.

Such are my views on the matters referred to above, and I trust the membership will support me with their votes and honor me as one of their delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fraternally yours,
MAX J. SILLINSKY.

French Debt Board Sails for America About September 15

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20—Secretary of Treasury Mellon, chairman of the American war debt commission, was officially advised by the French government that its debt negotiators would sail for the United States about September 15 to begin negotiations for funding the approximately $4,000,000,000 debt of France to this country.

The membership of the French commission was not given.

[Short Term]

My Flight from Siberia

Written by Leon Trotsky—a most interesting adventure story of escape from exile in Siberia—bound in board covers—is being given with every 3-month subscription to the DAILY WORKER.

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Another Advantage!

[Long Term]

Russia Today

The official report of the British trade union delegation to Soviet Russia—in book form—bound in attractive duroflex covers—a permanent record of the accomplishments of the world's first workers' government—together with an 8-month sub to the DAILY WORKER.

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RUSSELL vs. NEARING

RUSSELL-NEARING DEBATE

50c

THE DAILY WORKER PUBLISHING CO.

AMERICAN AUTOS LEAD IN 22-DAY RACE IN RUSSIA

Many Nations Entered in Fight for Orders

(Special to The Daily Worker)

LENINGRAD, U. S. S. R., Aug. 18—American entries led in the trans-Russian automobile race from Leningrad to Tiflis and back to Moscow, which began today and is expected to last 22 days. The participants in the race made their getaway at 8 o'clock this morning.

From the winners among the 44 foreign makes entered the Soviet government intends to select models for purchase. Conditions under which the race is being staged make it a trying test. The route, originally intended to cover only the distance from Moscow to Tiflis, is now extended to include the 3,000 mile stretch from Leningrad to Tiflis and back to Moscow.

A Grueling Test.

From Leningrad the racers go first to Dover, thence to Moscow, to Kharkov, to Rostov, to Piatigorsk, to Vladikavkas, to Tiflis, and back to Moscow.

During this trip the cars will be subjected to extremes of temperature, from the comparative cool of Leningrad in latitude of 60 degrees, on a level with the north coast of Ireland, to the blistering heat of the Caucasus in summer, on latitude 40 degrees corresponding to the latitude of central Spain.

Nearly all of the way the roads are plain dirt, intended only for horse-drawn vehicles, and in the southern part of the route there are sections which offer difficulties even for wagons.

World Powers Represented.

Driving will be in daytime only. All cars will stop at night. The race committee announces that the average distance covered will be 300 miles a day, but it is not likely that this speed can be maintained.

With American entries outnumbering all others, the manufacturers of other countries represented in the race range in order; Italy, France, Germany and Austria. There are entered 80 passenger cars, 50 trucks and 20 motorcycles.

Boosting the Air Service.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20.— Establishment by the federal governmnet of an aeronautical corporation similar to the Inland Waterways corporation, was urged today by Colonel William Mitchell, of the army air service, as a means of placing aviation on a sound basis in the United States.

SERVANT WHOSE JOB WAS TO CARE FOR DRUG CRAZED TIN PLATE KING SUES ESTATE, BOSS SHOT AT HIM

By LELAND OLDS

(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

The corruption of the multimillionaire upper class, comes to light occasionally in such suits as that filed against the estate of Daniel G. Reid, by James Savage his personal attendant from 1919 to 1924. Savage asserts he was engaged at $100 a week, to render personal service of an "extremely difficult and delicate nature occasioned by the mental condition of Reid due to excessive use of alcoholic liquors and stimulants."

Savage's job apparently was to handle the financier when crazed by the craving for booze and dope. That it was no schoolboy job is evident from Savage's statement that Reid not only threatened to shoot him but actually shot at him when thwarted in his attempt to get narcotics.

Was Tin Trust Manipulator.

Savage is suing for certain additional compensation he claims was promised him when he threatened to leave because the job was almost unendurable.

Reid was the capitalist who accumulated $50,000,000 by manipulating the tin plate trust later absorbed into U. S. Steel and by looting the Rock Island railroad.

* * *

My lady's handbag contained $1,775 in spending money including $7.75 in quarters and dimes, probably for tips to members of the "servant class." This bit of information is perhaps the most significant item on the suicide of Mrs. Peyton Van Rensselaer, member of one of this country's most aristocratic families. Many items cross the news desks of American papers telling of workers who commit suicide because unable to get a chance to earn a living. Sometimes the crazed worker kills members of his family too. But here is a woman committing suicide whose handbag contained spending money equal to the entire year's income of a skilled worker in American industry.

The lady also had pinned to her clothing jewelry containing 29 diamonds and 20 sapphires. Yet she died from despondency.

* * *

Morgan Buys Diamonds.

The jewels from the coffers of the royal houses of yesterday are slowly finding their way to the caskets of the new potentates of the American investment empire. This is revealed again by an anecdote on J. P. Morgan's entry into the world diamond trade. W. G. Sibley, editorial writer of the Chicago Journal of Commerce, commenting on Morgan's new diamond syndicate, tells of a luncheon at which Morgan took from his pocket a ruby ring stating that it was the finest ruby in the world. Originally it had been part of the collection of the deposed sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid. Morgan had been after it for eight years.

If you want to thoroughly understand Communism—study it. Send for a catalogue of all Communist literature.

INLAND STEEL COMPANY IMPOSING 10-HOUR DAY ON STEEL MILL LABOR

Shortage of steel is given, as the excuse for a new schedule of working hours in the sheet bar and thirty-six-inch bloomer mills at plant No. 1 of the Inland Steel Company, Indiana Harbor. Effective yesterday, two ten-hour shifts, instead of three eight-hour shifts, will be worked. Extra shifts will work alternately with the men in both departments.

MacMILLAN EXPEDITION PLANS TO GIVE UP QUEST FOR NORTH POLE

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20.—Unable to overcome the enormous difficulties presented by unseasonable weather, ice and fog, the MacMillan arctic expedition today abandoned its primary purpose—the aerial exploration of the vast, unchartered polar areas—and after some further exploration in Greenland and Baffin Island, will return to the United States.

The decision to abandon the ambitious project was reached this morning following receipt of a radio message from MacMillan, stating that he and the other members of the expedition now agree that establishment of an advanced base on Cape Hubbard and exploring the polar seas from that point is not feasible for this year in the time left before the Bowdoin and Peary would have to leave Etah ahead of the ice barrier.

Unexpected summer snow storms, continuous fog and unprecedented weather conditions which prevent flying were given as the reason.

Commander MacMillan has been advised by the National Geographic Society to follow his judgment in the matter and to proceed to the other exploration as soon as he deems wise, leaving the polar sea work for a subsequent effort.

BELGIAN DEBT SETTLEMENT TO STIR BRITAIN

Imperialist Rivalry Under the Surface

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 19—Trouble is ahead for all concerned in the monumental and unpayable war debts European nations owe to America, as a result of the settlement of the debt with "poor little Belgium."

Belgium won more leniency from the American debt commission than any other nation has so far, and this is bound to set the rest of the debtor nations into a clamor for similar treatment. The Belgians got a separation between the money loaned them before the armistice and that loaned afterward.

Rubbing It Into England.

On the first, Belgium is to pay no interest at all, and is given 62 years to pay the principal of $171,000,000. On the after the war loans, Belgium is asked to pay only three and a half per cent interest. This is lower than the interest charged Great Britain when she funded her debt to America, and not a word was said about forgiving England the interest on money she borrowed prior to the armistice.

American imperialism is driving England into asking for new terms in order to have a bargaining point to force England to stop gouging American business with the British cast iron rubber monoply, which is causing financial pain to American auto manufacturers especially.

While American treasury officials are sending out their alibi to forestall complaints from other nations over the favors shown Belgium, this is not expected to stop the loud yowls of either Italy, France or England, altho England has already funded her debt and agreed on interest rates, etc. Italy and France have done much talking but no action.

The American government's excuse to dodge similar consideration for other debtor nations is seen in the following statement:

Woody Did It.

"While no legal obligation rests upon the United States in this matter of foregoing interest on the pre-armistice debt, there does exist a weighty moral obligation as a result of asurances given by Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles peace conference, which entirely differentiates this sum from all other debts due to the United States from foreign countries."

CIGARMAKERS CONVENTION KILLS PLAN TO ELECT OFFICERS; PERKINS USES ENERGY TO SELL INSURANCE

BOSTON, August 20.—Organizers for the Cigar Makers' International Union will continue to be named by the general president of the union, subject to confirmation by the executive board, instead of districts electing their own organizers as proposed by delegate Manuel Roman of Chicago. President George Perkins spoke against the change. Roll call vote was refused and the amendment was defeated by a general vote of delegates to the 25th convention.

New members will not be subject to assessments for six instead of four months, according to convention decision. The weekly dues payment system was sustained over a proposed monthly payment plan, which, it was argued, would reduce the bookkeeping. Vice-president Van Horn read an exhaustive report on life insurance for trade unionists compiled by the American Federation of Labor insurance committee composed of George Perkins and Matthew Woll.

The executive board submitted a resolution that the convention subscribe to 500 shares at $20 each to aid the incorporation of this plan. Local unions are to be advised of this and also asked to subscribe.

Delegate Foley of Local 520, was requested by President Perkins to set forth the New Haven strippers' situation in a letter so that the matter might be taken up with Secretary Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L. Foley claims that the New Haven local strippers are still paying per capita tax to the A. F. of L. altho Samuel Gompers had promised that the federation would accept no more taxes if strippers entered the International Union.

A collection of over $100 was taken up at one of the convention sessions and given Mary Kelleher for the striking threat workers of Willimantic, Conn., in whose behalf she had spoken.

British Communists Ask Labor Party and Congress to Speak Up

LONDON, Aug. 20.—The British Communist Party has forwarded to the National Labor Party and the general council of the Trade Union Congress lettters appealing for the issuance of a manifesto to the army and navy to the effect that the organized forces of capitalism were prepared to use the army and navy to hold the workers under control or shoot them down if they showed resistance.

Steck Increases His Lead.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20.—Daniel F. Steck, democrat, today increased his lead over senate Smith W. Brookhart in the contested Iowa senatorial election.

Registering gains in counties supposedly voting strongly for Brookhart, Steck's lead was 12,763 votes in the recount of 58 counties. The total was Steck, 235,710; Brookhart, 222,947.

In the same counties, 5,336 votes were challenged, of which 4,068 were for Brookhart, and 1,266 for Steck.

CLEVELAND PICNIC ON SUNDAY WILL FLASH CONVENTION RETURNS

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Aug. 20.—The Workers Party of Cleveland invites all comrades and sympathizers to come to the joint local and district picnic on Sunday, Aug. 23, at Avondale Gardens, (stop 25), Kinsman Road, southeast of Cleveland.

The big feature of the picnic will be the bulletin service from the national convention in Chicago, which will be in session on the day of the picnic.

August 23 being the anniversary of the outbreak of the imperialist war of 1914, this picnic will be made the occasion of an anti-imperialist demonstration.

Comrade John Brahtin will be the principal speaker and the Cleveland Chinese Kuo Min Tang Party has promised to provide a Chinese speaker.

Come early and take in the games and sports arranged by the Young Workers' League. There will be singing by the German Leiderntafel and dancing all day and evening to the tune of Jack Bros.' union orchestra.

To get to picnic, take Kinsman Road car to end of line at east 154 street where busses will take you directly to Kinsman Road. Admission 50 cents at grounds.

Electrical Workers' Convention Meeting at Seattle, Wash.

SEATTLE, Aug. 20.—James P. Noonan, president, warned the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in session here today that the time is close at hand when power companies will be consolidated as telephone concerns have been. Speakers argued that industry should care for their aged and broken down workers.

Much Gold Produced.

WASHINGTON, August 20.— The greatest production of gold since 1919 was mined during 1924, it was announced by the treasury department.

CHIEF SPY OF POLISH TERROR MEETS HIS FATE

Killed by Communist, Labor Movement Glad

(Special to The Daily Worker)

WARSAW, Poland, Aug. 20. — The king of the agents provocateurs of the Polish government, Cechnowski, is dead. Cechnowski, who can be compared only to Azeff in the Russian revolutionary movement, was killed by a young Communist, Botwin.

Cechnowski, who was chief of the government's spy organization, was a prominent member of the social-democratic party of Poland and Lithuania. This party became the Communist Party, and Cechnowski was a member of the district committee in Warsaw. He is responsible for hundreds of arrests of the best comrades in the party, including many members of the central executive committee.

Caused Deaths of Workers.

The spy became exposed in the Baginski and Weczorkiewicz trial. It was his false testimony on which the court condemned them to death. They were to be exchanged by the Soviet government, but were murdered on the way.

On July 17 three comrades, Gibner, Rutkowski and Kniewski, were engaged in a battle with this beast when the Warsaw polire interfered. Fifteen of the police were killed or wounded and after these three comrades were wounded they were arrested. The bloody Polish government is preparing the gallows for them.

But Cechnowski got what was coming to him. From Warsaw he went to Lemberg for the trial of the young Communist, Botwin, who killed him.

Labor Rejoices.

The whole labor movement in Poland rejoices in the death of this rat who has for so long preyed upon the workers. The police arrested Comrade Botwin, but they did not get a single word from him. They tortured him, but the only answer they received was, "I did my Commnnist duty."

Mass arrests are now going on in Lemberg. The reactionary press is demanding a mass terror against the Communists.

Laborer Is Buried Alive.

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 20.—Chris Ravovich, a laborer, was buried alive here today when the banks of a ditch in which he was working gave way. Police and firemen were working frantically to extricate the man before he died.

Build the DAILY WORKER with subs.

Threats and Lies Fail to Free German Fascist Terrorists

(Continued from page 1)

of the form and the tactics for the defense. He requested to be released from his duties as defending counsel. The court granted the request.

The speech of the defending counsel, Ozep, on behalf of Ditmar then followed. Ozep declared that the passivity of the defense during the proceedings was to be explained by the fact that the interests of Ditmar were in opposition to those of the other defendants. The actual terrorist intent of the expedition was beyond all doubt. The origin of the program of the expedition came with as little doubt from the organization consul.

The defending counsel then discussed the statements of Kindermann upon the alleged hypnotism. It was just the German legal authorities which had recently discussed the application of hypnotism for the ascertainment of legal truth. The attacks of the German press were all the more absurd as it was proved without any possibility of objection that hypnotism had not been used in the present process.

The question was, did the death sentence demanded represent the real nature of the accusations. A further question was, could the objective psychological methods be applied to a crime. The human personality was the result of circumstances. Economic surroundings formed character. Such a theoretical introduction was intended as a measure of the objective guilt of the accused. What conditioned the terrorist intent? This could be seen from the indictment. In his book, "Four Years of Political Murder," Oumbel had charactterized the situation in Germany. In Germany political murder had become a daily occurrence almost a profession.

This in the last resort was the explanation for the terrorist expedition. Therefore the whole weight of the responsibility could not be laid upon the shoulders of the accused. Recently many confessions had been made, therefore there was a general mistrust against confessions. The confession of Ditmar, however, had a value in the process, was completely frank and would seem to indicate a turning point in the life of the accused. If such honesty were established, then the question was, is Ditmar a fascist, or one in whom the possibility of such a turning point should not be denied?

Hope for Ditmar.

Ditmar had acted decently during the trial. He had admitted having been a fascist. He had not betrayed his comrades. This had been proved by the declaration of the prosecutor that the statements of Ditmar followed the confession of Kindermann. The accusation of treachery returned to Kindermann. Ditmar had given reasons for his change of mind. Could it be believed that from the Ehrhardt ideology of yesterday a way out were possible?

The defending counsel believed that the experiences of the last few months had made a great impression upon the accused. The truthfulness of his change of mind should and could not be denied. Ditmar was fully aware of his complete isolation. He could expect no assistance from the Esthonian government. There could be no doubt that the paragraph 61 applied to the case, but not the paragraph 64 referring to terrorist intent. It was doubtful if the activity of Ditmar in the preparation of the terrorist acts was covered by this paragraph.

If the conviction existed that Ditmar, in consequence of the things seen by him in Russia, had freed himself from the suggestion of terrorism, then perhaps in his case the principle that not only the carrying out of terrorist acts, but also the intent to carry out terrorist acts should be punished, did not apply. Trotsky had declared that the terror is powerless against a rising class. This class had the right to exercise generosity and indulgence.

Workers Angry At German Legation.

Whilst the accused Wolscht gave up his earlier attitude and appeared completely broken down, Kindermann maintained, tho fear showed in his eyes, in his declarations, his insolence and provocation tho with faltering voice.

In the course of the session, the Legationsrat Hilger appeared in the court. This tactlessness called forth general indignation, all the more as public opinion is by no means convinced that there is no connection between Hilger and the accused.

Horrors! G. P. U. Passed Cigarets.

The fifteenth session opened with the speech of Kindermann in his own defense. He repeated and summarized his former statements. He declared in his well known megalomania that his arrest called forth world-wide interest. The examining judge had only supplied the material of proof in order to avoid punishment from his superiors. Kindermann declared further that his arrest had caused incalculable damage to his German fatherland. He complained of his treatment by the G. P. U. He declared that each prisoner was given 25 cigarets per day and that this must inevitably lead to consumption.

He recounted real Nick Carter stories about alleged horrors in the G. P. U. He had not seen them it was true, but they had been told to him by fellow prisoners, he alleged. The acquaintance with Baumann had made him a fascist nationalist. On the 27th of January he had celebrated the birthday of the kaiser. The letter to the Berlin University had been signed by him under a mysterious pressure, however, not under hypnotism. The men wrote against his will (laughter).

Also the letter to the Comintern was written under the orders of Baumann, but in the hope of being soon released. Kindermann declared that Baumann's hypnotism of him in the making of the protocal had taken place by Baumann placing his hand upon his, Kindermann's shoulder (laughter). An Hungarian lieutenant of the hussars had met Kindermann in prison, so the latter alleged, the lieutenant wanted to shoot Bela Kun. During the course of the proceedings it had been ascertained that such a person only existed in the imagination of Kindermann.

Kindermann declared that he had applied a retrosuggestive process to himself, so that he was able to remember what took place under the hypnotism (laughter). The chairman interrupted the defendant in his speech and pointed out to him that he was introducing a whole row of new facts about which he had said nothing during the course of the process. Kindermann continued in the form of a cheap novel to retail his impressions of the mysterious pressure to which he allegedly had been subjected, and said that in those days he had suffered from high fever. It is a fact that Kindermann was examined by the doctors at that time who diagnosed delirium. Kindermann declared that the Hungarian hussar lieutenant had suddenly appeared to him and when he, Kindermann, turned round, the Hungarian as suddenly disappeared (laughter).

Kindermann declared further that he had promised on his own initiative to the examining judge that if he were released he would keep silent upon the happenings in the G. P. U. Apart from this, Kindermann declared that he was in possession of a secret about questions concerning Germany which he would have to take into the grave with him (laughter). The whole speech for the defense carefully evaded all the concrete results of the process and concentrated mainly upon fantastic fairy tales about the G. P. U. The whole attitude of Kindermann showed clearly that he had chosen the form of his speech in order to be able to make sensational revelations about the G. P. U. after the style of Popoff after his exchange with Germany, upon which he apparently reckons.

Finally Kindermann demanded that his affair be settled thru diplomatic channels. He further demanded the re-opening of the proceedings and demanded the death sentence, not for himself, but for the examining judge. (Storms of laughter).

The chairman declared that the question of a re-opening of the proceedings should have been dealt with before the speeches for the defense. The court considered in any case a re-opening of the proceedings was impossible.

Threatens Soviet Union.

Thereupon Wolscht made a declaration in a challenging manner in which he rejected the possibility of defending himself. He was a representative of the German students whose organizations had been slandered in this court and he did not feel himself called up to defend the honor of these organizations here. This would soon be done by other people and in another place (stirring in the body of the court). He would hardly be able to influence the court as apparently the opinions of the Isvestia and the Pravda were decisive for the Russian public.

The closing speech of the public prosecutor, Krylenko, then followed in which he pointed out that the defense had not been able to produce counter-arguments. Kindermann limited himself to the attempt to justify baseless and invented statements by statements still more indefensible. Kindermann had based his defense upon fairy tales of hypnotic influence which had been destroyed by Kindermann's own further statements.

The declaration of Wolscht showed the real countenance and provocative nature of the accused clearly. What was the relation between the friendship of Kindermann and Baumann, who sang the Ehrhardt hymn and other nationalist songs together, an hypnotism? The only certainly proved thing was the friendship between the two. The protocol remains a fact. Kindermann himself was compelled to admit that neither the examining judge nor Baumann could possibly have known the facts recorded in the protocol. It is characteristic that Kindermann refrained from inviting the mysterious Hungarian as a witness, for he did not believe in the existence of this Hungarian himself.

Kindermann's defense was simply the attitude of a man who did not know what to do but to lie wholeheartedly. Kindermann believed that he had found the correct way when he lied in accordance with the phantasies of the reactionary press and hoped to have the greatest success the more cynically and insolently he lied. When Kindermann declares that all three are innocent so is this absolutely logical from his point of view, for it is his task to make his fantastic statements worthy of belief and those of Ditmar unworthy.

Accepts Fascists' Challenge.

And the political circules which stand behind Kindermann do the same, not because they are so much concerned with the lives of the accused, but with the compromising statements of Ditmar. Wolscht's declaration that he will not avail himself of the possibility of defense is only unusual in the first moment, it becomes perfectly understandable in connection with that part of his declaration in which he threatens in a challenging manner that other people in another place will answer the accusations. We understand this declaration and keep it in mind. The threats of Wolscht light up strongly the real political significance and the real nature of the accused.

We have taken off the gloves and we accept the challenge of the German fascists. The prosecutor recalled his words of the previous day in which he had said that the Kindermann group was only the first group of fascism in Russia and that others would follow. The fascists are welcome, we possess sufficient devoted comrades, and have command of sufficient resources to prevent the realization of their plans in time. With regard to Ditmar, the prosecutor saw no possibility of ligthening the punishment.

After the close of the prosecutor's speech, the counsel for the defense of Ditmar, Ozep, requested belief for the honesty of Ditmar and declared that the turn in the ideology of Ditmar must be accepted as a satisfaction by the social revolution which was able to bring a determined fascisht of aristocratic origin to a recognition of the social truth.

Then followed a declaration of Wolscht to the effect that if the prosecutor chose to see a fascist in him, it was all the same to him.

The chairman then gave the accused the last word.

Terrorist Thanks German Embassy.

Kindermann declared shortly that his statements had been incorrect, and that the judgment should not be based upon him, otherwise the cause of justice would suffer. Wolscht expressed his thanks to the German embassy, the German press, in particular the Berliner Tageblatt for their many and various efforts upon his behalf and declared that the chief thing for him was to hold his national ideas and his Germanism high.

Then followed Ditmar who declared that he had made his statements neither from revenge nor from egotism, but from the conviction that he must speak the truth. "I understand very well, declared Ditmar, "that it does not suit the German press that a Baltic aristocrat should speak the truth, but they should leave me and my honorable name in peace. I stress once again that up to the confession of Kindermann, and despite the fact that at that time I had already changed my political convictions, despite the fact that I had found myself to be deceived in the nationalist idea, I persisted in the refusal to make any statements whatsoever to the examining judge, and only when the confession of Kindermann had been made did I consider that I had a freedom of action.

Blames Social-Democrats.

"With regard to the Berlin Vorwaerts, the organ of the social democrats who sold their fatherland to the entente for thirty pieces of silver, which asks how it was possible that I received permission to enter the Soviet Union, I must explain that I received this permission thanks to my Communist membership book and thanks to my Esthonian pass in which was contained the name Ditmarin and in which nothing was mentioned about my origin. The whole Kindermann expedition and my participation in it is a provocation on the part of the social democratic Berlin police presidium.

"Apart from the exhibits in this process lying before us, there are two others (pointing to Kindermann and Wolscht). Certain circles of bourgeois society have used us for their aims and they are responsible for our lives. I would go more peacefully to my death, the unavoidability of which is clear to me without the declaration of the prosecutor, if I were convinced that the German youth would learn something from this process, if it would refuse to allow itself to be misused for crimes against the Soviet republic.

"I came to Russia with the conceptions which are current abroad upon the state of affairs here. I expected to see desolation, and the collapse of economy and of cultural life, and I met exactly the opposite. This led to a change in my whole ideology. My relations with the non-party intellectuals in Moscow who work hand in hand with the Soivet government was decisive for me in this connection.

"In the factories and offices I saw that the work was not performed merely for wages, but also from a feeling of duty. I was convinced that I would meet the 'red monster,' and this feeling pressed the revolver into my hand, instead of that I met the work of reconstruction and honesty of purpose. I am far from a friend of the G. P. U., but I regard it to be my duty to recognize the form of treatment, the cleanliness and the food in the prisons of the G. P. U.

"Such is to be wished for in the prisons in all the countries of Europe. I stand now behind the Soviet power, I recognize its policy to be the best way to develop national characteristics, in particular those of the previously suppressed nationalities. I do not beg for mercy, I shall await the execution of the death sentence peacefully. I will die as I have lived."

The court then withdrew for the purpose of deliberation.

R. R. UNIONS SUPPORT BOB JR. IN WISC.

Think He'll Save Taxes for Their Bosses!

MADISON, Wis., Aug. 20.—The Wisconsin railroad brotherhood endorsed the candidacy of Robert M. La Follette Jr. to succeed his father in the United States senate at a meeting here and will be active in support of La Follette's campaign, according to an announcement yesterday.

The announcement came from R. F. Green, Lacrosse Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers; J. K. Murphy, Spooner; L. M. Maloney, Stevens Point Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and P. F. Zeimtec, Madison Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. A campaign organization has been formed with the men named chairman, vice chairman, treasurer, and secretary, respectively.

In a statement the officers of the railroad committee declared that La-Follette Jr. was the best fitted to carry on the work of his father.

Worried for the Poor Railroads!

The statement reviews the record of Senator I. L. Lenroot and declares that if there has been a tax reduction by the federal government, railroads haven't noticed it. "Brothers, the eyes of the nation will be on Wisconsin during the coming campaign. They are looking for us to continue to lead the way. We must not disappoint them. The progressive movement must go forward," the statement declares.

LENIN LABORED FOR FREEDOM OF WORKING WOMEN

Krupskaya Tells of His Activities

By N. KRUPSKAYA.

MOSCOW—(By Mail) — Vladimir Ilyitch's mind was always occupied with the working and peasant women, trying to find ways and means of awakening their consciousness and of drawing them into the movement and into the various organizations.

Whilst still in Siberia he advised me to write a pamphlet on working women. I wrote the pamphlet and he helped me with his advice, and when subsequently, he went abroad to publish there the illegal paper Iskra he took care that this pamphlet was also published. Whenever there was an opportunity to do something which would help to awaken the consciousness of working and peasant women Vladimir Ilyitch invariably lent a helping hand. Those who carried on work among women; myself and Comrade Ines who gave up her life to the work among working and peasant women, Comrade Stahl and others always went to Vladimir Ilyitch for advice, and we never went in vain.

All his speeches and articles bear testimony to how much he was concerned with the liberation of working and peasant women, with making them class conscious and drawing them into constructive work.

There is another thing I would like to tell you: There was a congress of Moslem working and peasant women, and you know that in the East they are even more backward and oppressed than with us. Vladimir Ilyitch talked to these women, and then he discussed the matter with me. He said: "Now that the lowest, the most oppressed of the oppressed have risen, everything is alright, there can be no more turning back."

Comrades begin to lead a conscious life, study, reconstruct life in such a way that everyone may live comfortably. Rally to the Red banner of Communism.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

NEW YORK, Aug. 19.— Great Britain, pound sterling, demand 4.85 7-16; cable, 4.85 15-16; France, franc, demand 4.69½; cable, 4.70; Belgium, franc, demand 4.57½; cable, 4.58; Italy, lira, demand, 3.62½; cable, 3.65; Sweden, krone, demand 26.86; cable, 26.89; Norway, krone, demand 18.60; cable, 18.62; Denmark, krone, demand 23.00; cable, 23.02; Germany, mark, no quote; Shanghai, tael, 79.25.

Peking Government Invites Powers to Oct. 26 Conference

PEKING, Aug. 20.—Invitations to imperialist powers to attend a Chinese customs conference, beginning Oct. 26, were forwarded by the Peking government recently. Altho called in conformity with the Washington conference agreements, which contemplated merely an advance on the present flat tariff rate, China is expected to ask the powers to discuss the question of tariff autonomy on the grounds of a widespread demand for it from all classes in China.

BATTLE CREEK, Mich., Aug. 20.—Attorney Joseph L. Hooper, republican, was elected congressman from the Third district yesterday by 6,641 majority, it was known today. He succeeds the late U. S. Representative Arthur B. Williams.

AUTOMOBILE BARONS GET BIG PROFIT

Take from 26 to 266 Per Cent Velvet

By LELAND OLDS.
Federated Press.

A profit of $7,292,443 turned over to the millionaire owners of the Nash Motors Co. in the first half of 1925 calls attention to the fact that the Fords are not the only employers to find a bonanza in the scientific speeding up of auto workers. Financial papers figure this as a return of $24.79 a share. But analysis of Nash financial history shows that the owners are taking at least 266 per cent return on their investment.

For an original investment of $100 the owners received one share each of preferred and common stock. Then in 1922 the company used some of its excess profits to buy back the preferred stock at $110. The original investors thus got their holdings in common stock for $10 less than nothing. The company then proceeded to give three shares of 7 per cent preferred stock and 5 shares of common stock for each original share of common. Thus an original investment of $100, later more than repaid, was transformed into 3 shares of preferred each entitled to $3.50 half year's dividends and 5 shares of common with half year's profits of $24.79 a share.

The owners now have an investment with market value over $2,500 for each share of common stock originally received as a purchasers bonus to preferred stock.

* * *

General Motors, the big Morgan-Dupont auto combine, reports a 6 month profit of $46,460,274. This exceeds the profits of the entire year of 1924. It means $42,460,274 for the common stockholders or about $9 a share on the no-par stock. As this stock has a book value of $50 a share the half year's profit is at an annual rate of 38 per cent.

General Motors has accumulated $108,889,000 in undivided profits. It holds in its treasury $139,375,062 in cash and securities, a gain of more than $100,000,000 since last year.

* * *

Record-breaking profits are reported by Dodge Brothers, the auto concern recently purchased by Dillon, Read and Co., leading Wall Street financiers. In 6 months it produced $16,487,891 for its owners. This means about $9,480,000 for the holders of common stock which was all issued as a bonus to the owners.

Dillon, Read and their associates kept 1,150,000 shares of this common stock. Consequently their 6 month profit will be over $5,400,000. Added to the $14,000,000 in cash which they lifted from the treasury before reorganizing the company and the profit from selling to the public at $159,250,000 property for which they paid $146,000,000 this ought to make the half year fairly satisfactory.

* * *

Studebaker Corporation with a half year's profit of $10,122,048 also belongs in the group. This profit means a gain of 33 per cent over last year. It represents a profit of $5.24 a share or 13 per cent on common stock worth about $40. This is at an annual rate of 26 per cent.

Taken together these four automobile companies had combined profits of more than $80,000,000 for the 6-month period.

Railway Clerks Want Reward for Bandits Applied to Bankers

CINCINNATI—(FP) — Commenting on the offer of Chicago bankers of a $2,500 reward to their employes or police if they kill bank bandits (only $1,000 if the bandit is arrested and convicted), The Railway Clerk, official organ of its brotherhood, says:

"How much greater would be the opportunity of annexing one of these $2,500 prizes if clerks and cops were paid for the killing of bank presidents or other inside operators in the act of getting away with the funds.

"In 1924 more than $7,000,000 was stolen from banks in the United States by bank officials and employes—inside workers. In the same period less than $2,000,000 was stolen in cash and securities from the United States banks by outside robbers.

"To give the emplbyes a fair chance to make a little extra change, and for the protection of depositors, the reward ought to be paid for each officer bagged."

(We doubt that The Railway Clerk had Vice.-Pres. Dawes in mind.—Ed.)

PITTSBURGH, PA.

To those who work hard for their money, I will save 50 per cent on all their dental work.

DR. RASNICK
DENTIST
645 Smithfield Street.

RUSSIA TODAY

THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE BRITISH TRADE UNION DELEGATION TO SOVIET RUSSIA

Thru Courtesy of the International Publishers Co.

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(Continued from Yesterday's Daily Worker)

SYNOPSIS.—The official report of the British trade union delegation to Soviet Russia described the workings of foreign trade, transportation, industry, finance and agriculture in the Soviet Union. The trade union leaders concluded that foreign trade is increasing, and that in agriculture and industry the level of production is being raised. The finances have been placed on a sound basis, the report showed. Harm is being done to England by the absence of full diplomatic relations, the union leaders stated. Schools and universities, and literature, music and opera and the theatre were then discussed. Art collections, censorship, newspapers, wall newspapers, and freedom of the press were explained, with the conclusion that "the results of education are astounding." The report then took up hospitals, welfare work, sanitation, birth control, abortion, cleanliness and housing, rent regulations, family life, and prisons. "The Soviet government is achieving most remarkable results in respect to public health, housing, and the prison system," says the report. Regarding the trade unions and labor conditions, the report states, "The Delegation were much impressed by the position and activities of Trade Unions under the Soviet system."

* * * *

Free Contract.—The first modification was transforming the conscription of the peasants' labor into a corvee; and this tax in labor became within a year a tax in money. At the same time the restoration of private employers and the reorganization of State enterprises on a business basis made compulsory labor impossible and free agreement inevitable. A decree of November 3rd, 1921, therefore, abolished extra compulsory labor in all State enterprises. But compulsion in principle was maintained largely from fear of a general flight from Government into private employment; and it was applied by the Commissariat of Labor so as to favor Government enterprises in their first competition with the private employer. The Trade Unions, however, were determined to secure complete freedom of contract and the Fifth Congress, September, 1922, finally ratified it. The Labor Code of November, 1922, restricted compulsory labor to "occasions of general crisis"—thus preserving it in principle while abolishing it in practice.

Thereafter, employment has been based on free contract subject to regulations of the usual character and the collective or local agreement, if any. This "voluntary agreement" (v. par. 9 of Code) is to be effected through Employment Exchanges. But so many exceptions are scheduled, that there is practically nothing to prevent a direct engagement; which must, however, be registered. The employer has, subject to the agreement, the right of discharge in the event of:—

(a) Complete or partial closing down;
(b) Completion of the work or of the period of engagement.
(c) Absence from work or obvious incapacity. But at least a fortnight's notice of discharge is required, and the employe may appeal to the local Department of Labor.

Restoration of Wages

The demobilization of War Communism under the New Economic Policy brought a gradual return to money wages. The restoration of an economic system based on money and free trade in food, made wage-rations no longer necessary. But as the industries could not support their employes, a whole series of systems for subsidizing their wage funds were tried in rapid succession. These systems, costly as they were in a time of depreciating currency, served to tide over the difficult transition of demobilizing the worker and making him again dependent on what he himself earned.

The Fourth All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions in May, 1921, recommended that wages should again be based on collective agreements.

Collective Agreements

The conclusion of collective agreements began in about April, 1922, and grew so rapidly that the State had difficulty in fitting them into its socialist system. It was, however, decided by the Fifth Congress of Trade Unions against the opinion of the Supreme Economic Council of People's Commissaries that these agremeents should not be compulsory, as that would amount to a return to State regulation of wages. Thus the attempt of the Voronej Trade Union organizations to force an agreement on private enterprises was stopped by Moscow. Agreements are defined as "free agreements between Trade Unions and employers for defining the contents of subsequent individual contracts of engagement."

A model agreement of 49 clauses has been drawn up by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions and this, combined with the Labor Code, and other legislation, has reduced agreements in size from the 200 to 300 clauses they ran to at first. It has also reduced the number of disputes. The agreement can be general or local. The central authorities favored general agreements because they meant higher wages. After a controversy, it was resolved that general agreements before conclusion should be submitted to local criticism, and should in no case exclude local agreement. Only the Trade Union has power to conclude them on behalf of the workers, and the Joint Conciliation Committees have now no such power. There have been complaints that agreements are too often made without any reference to the workers. They are applicable to all employes, whether unionists or not; which is opposed in principle to French and German legislation, and not always observed in Russian practice. Thus of 300 collective agreements in the Ukraine only 161 were so applicable—and 59 were specifically restricted to unionists. Other agreements which provided priority of employment for unionists, or their substitution for non-unionists, or attributed administrative functions to the Joint Conciliation Committee have been disallowed by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions as an interference with the management not in the general interests of the workers or the industry. The Council has also stopped attempts of the local authorities, as in Yaroslav and Nijny-Novgorod, to assert their right to ratify and revise agreements.

The Trade Unions have worked hard for the conclusion of collective agreements and on an average, about 82 per cent. of union members now work under such agreements—in the case of transport workers, as many as 98 per cent. Even farm workers are now being brought under them. Agreements must be registered with the Commissariat of Labor, which can refuse to register provisions contrary to the Labor Code and other legislation; though it is still in dispute whether unregistered provisions can be enforced. The duration of an agreement is fixed by the Commissariat of Labor and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

Breach of Agreements

Under the Labor Code, the Trade Unions are not pecuniarily responsible for breaches of agreement. But under regulations of the Commissariat of Labor, employing enterprises are so liable; and it is to be noted that the economic basis of these agreements is somewhat different from that of similar agreements elsewhere. In capitalist countries they are the result of a conflict between the economic power at the moment of Capital on one side and Labor on the other. In Russia they are an agreement between the Trade Union and the State as to how much of the profits can be distributed as a dividend to the worker owner and how much must go to reserve and re-equipment, etc.

Disputes

Under "War Communism" and Labor Conscription, there could be no disputes either as to the rates of wages or conditions of work. The Trade Unions' functions in this respect became, theoretically, merely disciplinary; though their informal conciliation committees did as a matter of fact, settle disputes by negotiation. But as everything came to be done under agreements, something had to be done about disagreements. The Trade Union could no longer be both party and judge. So in January, 1922, Conciliation Committees representing equally employers and employed were set up to deal only with disputes within the factory. This was followed in July by Conciliation Chambers and Arbitration Courts. There has been and still is much conflict and confusion between the powers of these Courts and those of the Conciliation Committees of the Trade Union and their superior organs the Committees of the Commissariat of Labor. The Trade Unions fought hard for their right to settle disputes in defiance of resolutions of the Fifth Trade Union Congress (September, 1922), and the Labor Code (November, 1922). But the Government none the less finally abolished the disputes committees of the Commissariat of Labor and set up Labor Courts for disputes on individual agreements. Nevertheless the unions still encroach on the Courts. The report to the Sixth Congress plaintively reproaches the unions—especially the tanners and chemists for such proceedings. Indeed, even apart from such encroachments the work of the unions in settling disputes by negotiation seems to be increasing. Thus 75 per cent. of the industrial disputes in 1923 were settled amicably by the unions; the remainder going to the Courts or Conciliation Chambers.

The new Labor Code divides disputes into legal and industrial—that is, into individual disputes arising from contracts and general disputes arising from collective greements. Individual disputes in private enterprises go before the Labor Courts. In these disputes during 1923 central awards were given cent. they were in the workers' favor. Local awards decided against 15 per cent. of the workers involved, compromised for 40 per cent. and favored wholly 45 per cent. Disputes diminished in 1923 and again in 1924. Disputes were caused in proportion of 56.2 per cent by differences in negotiations or revision of collective agreements. Interpretation and application of the agreements caused 16.6 per cent. While 25.2 per cent., involving only 4.9 per cent. of the workers, were caused by differences outside the agreements. Three-quarters of those disputes were concerned with rates of wages and regulation of payment.

Strikes

The right to strike under an industrial system based on private capital is a constant protection against the exploitation of the worker by the wealthy. The right to strike is maintained against only 15 per cent of the 1,500,000 workers involved; in the case of 70 per cent. they were compromises, and in 15 per in Russia. But since all industry is either conducted or closely controlled by the community the strike has changed its function. The worker enjoys all profits from the industry after proper provision for re-equipment, reserves, etc. He no longer strikes to protect himself or the community from exploitation by private interests, but only as a protest against administrative mismanagement or mal-practice, such as delay in wage payments, etc.

(a) **In State Enterprises.**—The official and Trade Union attitude to strikes is that under a Soviet system strikes should not be a normal procedure in State enterprises. They should only be sanctioned in clear cases of abuse of authority and should aim at its correction. Consequently there were during 1923 only 11 strikes involving 1,026 workers in Government enterprises—and these small ones. Strikes diminished in 1923, as compared with 1922, by 12 per cent. in number, by 14 per cent. in workers involved and by 30 per cent. in average duration. These strikes were mainly due to delays in wage payments. Strikes seem with growing frequency to break out against the policy of the unions.

(b) **In Private Factories.**—The policy with regard to strikes in private establishments, as laid down by the Fifth Congress of Trade Unions, was that they were not to be too constantly resorted to, and the unions seem on the whole to have been moderate. When there has been a strike it has generally been on a dispute arising about an arbitral award. Such strikes in private enterprises increased in 1923 to 135 involving 5,200 workers, from 99 involving 4,800 in 1922. Their duration also increased by 40 per cent. They were in proportion of 64 per cent. not about wages but about conditions of work, and they were settled in proportion of 76 per cent. wholly and of 11 per cent. partly in favor of the workers.

(c) **Labor Exchanges.**—The return to free contract made it necessary to convert the Sections for Distribution of Labor into Employment Exchanges of the usual type. And in 1922 the unions got the management of the Exchanges reorganized as Joint Committees representing the Commissariat of Labor, the Trade Unions, and the economic authorities. The Chairman of the Joint Committee is appointed by the local Labor Department, and there are three members representing respectively the Provincial Economic Council, Agricultural Department, and Transport Department, and three nominees of the Provincial Inter-Trade Union Council. The decisions of the Committee can be repealed by the local Labor Department subject to appeal to Moscow. When unemployment in any industry reaches a certain figure, special technical sections are set up by the unions for dealing with it. These technical sections working with their union often succeed in ousting the Employment Exchange.

Unemployed over 16 years, whether with other means of support or no, must be registered; those seeking a change of employment may be. Skilled workers must give proof of their capacity. An employe seeking work is consulted when assigned to a job, and only at times of acute unemployment is he given other work than his own. He must report for registration monthly, and failure to do so entails removal from the register, with loss of relief or relegation to the bottom of the list. Theoretically, all engagements were to be made through the Exchange, but from the beginning the right of the employer to reject the worker offered him was recognized.

The Exchanges proved, however, to be incapable of dealing with the rapid increase of unemployment that followed the demobilization of labor. By 1922 unemployment was serious, and its average duration two to four months. By 1923 this had extended to eight months. The registers were as much as half-filled with applicants for work in which they were not qualified; who had registered for the sake of getting the benefits belonging to workers. The real workers failed to get placed. The practice grew up of direct engagement subject to formal ratification by the Exchange, which also gave rise to many abuses. Illegal exchanges also sprang up. By the spring of 1923 there was a strong movement for making engagements through the Exchange voluntary; and by the regulations of August 13th, 1923, direct engagement is recognized and need only be registered. Meantime, the work of the Exchanges is still disorganized by the difficulty of reconciling the right, in principle, of the employed to work with the right, in practice, of the employer to refuse it.

Unemployment

Unemployment began in the autumn of 1922, with the demobilization of the overgrown officialdom of War Communism, and grew with the dismissal from the industrial payroll of a whole population of what were practically State pensioners. To these have been added the victims of the "axe" in educational and other economies; these representing in 1922 nearly 70 per cent. of the total. As these unemployed were for the most part non-proletarian, their plight did not at first cause undue disquiet; and as elsewhere, these unfortunates seem by now to have been somehow absorbed. But their numbers went to swell the registers of the Employment Exchanges, from which in the course of the following year repeated efforts were made to get rid of them as unemployables. Some success in this probably partly accounts for the recent decrease in figures of unemployment of brain workers. The increase in unemployment of unskilled workers can partly be accounted for by their return to the towns now that War Communism and food scarcity are safely over. Even so, only 54 per cent of the workers in industrial employ before the war have been re-employed as yet; the remainder being unemployed or having returned to the land.

The total unemployment figures for 84 towns and 219 counties was on December 1st, 1923, 1,042,000, and on April 1st, 1924, 1,369,000.

The percentage of Trade Unionists unemployed rose from 8.6 per cent on October 1st, 1923, to 11.7 per cent on January 1st, 1924—a seasonal increase. It was as high as 24 per cent among teachers. This is partly accounted for by the middle class, especially women, having flooded the teaching profession, to obtain rations under War Communism, partly by economies in education. The proportion of Trade Unionists is 41 per cent; which is also the proportion of the total taken by the unemployed of Moscow and Leningrad.

The percentage of total unemployment taken by women is very high—no less than 40 per cent. The percentage of women employed to the total employment has fallen from over half in 1922 to nearly a quarter in 1924. In view of its results in increasing prostitution, special steps are being taken to restore women to employment.

Unemployment Remedies

The way of dealing with the evils of unemployment is very like our own. The same sort of program of public works (including general electrification) hampered in the same way by the necessity of economy. The 1924 appropriation amounted to 1,700,000 roubles and 1,500,000 worker-days employment were given.

Public works for relief of unemployment were put in hand, but these enterprises were on no very large scale, and had no very great effect. About 5 per cent to 7 per cent of the unemployed were thus relieved.

(To be continued in next issue.)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE TO HOLD OUTING

Thousands Expected at Pleasant Bay

(Special to The Daily Worker)

NEW YORK, Aug. 20.—There are 128 militant workers in the capitalist prisons of the United States who have served the interests of the working class and for that reason have been thrown into jail by the capitalists and the capitalist government. The government of the United States is projecting a campaign against the foreign-born workers, hoping in this way to coerce the entire American working class. The coming struggles in the United States will cost the working class many victims. How can the workers protect themselves?

One of the most important instruments is to build up a broad defense organization to take care of the fighters before the capitalist courts and to provide for them and their families. This is the function of the International Labor Defense, which was organized in Chicago on June 28, and which calls for the support of all trade unions, labor organizations, working class fraternal organizations, etc.

Big Outing.

The New York section of the International Labor Defense will hold an outing on Sunday, Aug. 23, at Pleasant Bay park, Bronx, in order to raise funds for defense. This outing will be an expression of the organized workers of New York, but at the same time will be one of the most enjoyable affairs that have ever been arranged in this city.

Michael Gold has written a side-splitting farce based on the Dayton trial. This play, called "Monkey or Man," will be given by a competent troupe of comrades who are devoting themselves to it. In addition there will be athletic events arranged by the Workers Sport Alliance. There will be other fun and plenty of refreshments.

Movies Will Be Taken.

And then a movie will be taken of the whole affair. Everybody wants to be in it. A number of organizations of foreign-born workers have been invited to appear in their national costumes, so that the affair will be a splendor of color.

Tickets cost only 35 cents, which makes it possible for every worker to be there with his whole family. The gates will be open at 10 a. m., so that a full day of enjoyment may be had. Be there and bring your friends. You cannot help a worthier cause than that of the International Labor Defense. The new headquarters of the New York section are at 799 Broadway, Room 422.

FASCISTS WHO RIOTED GIVEN LIGHT TERMS

Courts Easy on Anti-Semitic Rowdies

VIENNA, Aug. 20.—Seventy additional arrests were made of persons, mostly young men, in connection with the anti-Semitic demonstraiton which marked the assembly here of the world Zionest congress.

The first batch of men arrested, numbering 126 have been sentenced to serve from eight to fourteen days in prison and light sentences probably will be meted out to the bulk of the others taken into custody. Many of those arrested have been found armed with knives and revolvers.

BUILDERS AT WORK

WRITE! WRITE!

GIVE US SOME ADVICE!

This column is held especially for **you**—for these reasons:

Here we want advice—EVERYDAY—for workers doing Communist propaganda work; to exchange experiences in getting subscriptions for the DAILY WORKER, the WORKERS MONTHLY and in selling literature at he shop, in the trade unions and among workers everywhere; to get opinions on not only how to secure subscriptions but also on how to improve the DAILY WORKER.

This is your column. Send in your experiences in this work and send us also your opinions on how this work can be done better. If you have methods that have been tried tell us how they work; if you have methods you think should be tried, tell us how they ought to work.

Don't worry about how well you may write. What Builders of the Communist movement want is not literature but IDEAS, methods, ways and means to do propaganda work more efficiently to get greater results for the movement.

This is one way in which you can contribute your share to the job of Building the Communist movement by making better Builders of others already on the job.

GIVE US SOME ADVICE—WRITE!

Theses Presented to Workers Party Convention by Brahdy, Jampolsky

1. The Decision of the Comintern on the American Question.

The Comintern decision should serve us as an instrument to promote the revolutionary movement in America; but unhappily, both the majority and the minority have instead perverted it into an accessory of their factional campaigns.

After the Comintern had established how wrong they both were, especially on the main issue of the Labor Party, each faction uses the statement of the Comintern mainly to discredit the other faction—but for no constructive purpose.

We adopt without reservation the political analysis contained in the Comintern resolution on the American question, and there is therefore no need to restate it.

2. Confusion of Issues—Wasting of Energy.

It would have been conducive to a wholesome situation in our party if most of our energy and discussion had been devoted to our party organization, T. U. E. L. work, educational and general concrete political activity. As it is, for nearly two years our strength has been sapped by a series of campaigns coming one on top of the other throout 1923-4, and a prolonged useless factional discussion in 1924-5. The Labor Party, Trade Union problems, Shop Nuclei, etc., were hardly ever discussed upon their own merits.

3. The Labor Party Campaign.

The confusion of our party leadership manifested itself most definitely, and the setback which our party suffered was most apparent in our assortment of policies on the Labor Party; and twice in two years were these policies definitely repudiated by the Comintern.

The only substantial opposition to the most disastrous third party (La Follette) policy in 1923-4 arose in the New York district and was ridiculed by the leadership of both the majority and the minority factions. But this opposition, tho condemned at the time as a social-democratic deviation and as leftist sectarianism proved to be the correct Communist position and was later endorsed by the Comintern.

In 1921 the American Labor Alliance was inflicted upon us, in 1922 the United Toilers of America, in 1923 the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, in 1924 the National Farmer-Labor Party—all of which were still-born.

In 1921 we had candidates on the Workers League ticket, in 1922 on the Workers Party ticket, in 1923 on the Federated Farmer-Labor Party ticket, in 1924 on the Workers Party ticket.

February, 1922, we ignored the meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action; December, 1922, we sent Workers Party delegates; February, 1923, we sent Workers Party delegates; July, 1924, the National Farmer-Labor Party sent a delegation; February, 1925, we ignored it again.

July, 1923, we organized the Federated Farmer-Labor Party; December, 1923, we issued the theses for the La Follette third party; May, 1924, we repudiated the La Follette third party; June, 1924, we had the St. Paul convention; July, 1924, Workers Party nominations; August, 1924, the Farmer-Labor Party slogan; December, 1924, we dropped the slogan altegether; May, 1925, we issued the Labor Party slogan.

4. Results of Our Maneuvers.

It was right along the fashion in our party to speak in exultation of the "maneuvers" which we must engage in; any emphasis upon fundamental organization work, as expressed by the slogan, "Build the Party," and now stressed by the Comintern, was then frowned upon by both leading groups, as indicating a social-democratic or sectarian tendency.

But of course and as usual—what was only yesterday uncritically denounced and attacked by the two factions as a deviation is today, equally uncritically, promoted as a Bolshevist measure.

We have now seen our party go thru a long series of these cherished maneuvers which have brot upon our heads the derision of the whole labor world, and a loss of morale of our own membership, certainly a proof that they did not represent Bolshevist tactics, all of them having been repudiated by the Comintern. This is true of nearly all spheres of activity during the short period of our existence as the Workers Party, under the administration of both the present majority and the present minority.

It is impossible to account for our incessant failures as due simply to a long series of casual mistakes; no, at the bottom of it all is the political instability of our party caused by the theoretical and practical confusion of our party leadership.

5. The National Committee in the Needle Trades.

But, organizationally the greatest havoc was played by the punitive expedition of the C. E. C. into the National Committee.

While the C. E. C. is ready to forgive itself any number of mistakes—mistakes leading to class collaboration, and isolation, and ridicule; mistakes that were made when there was ample time for deliberation; mistakes made officially; mistakes made by comrades who have all the leisure and facilities which the highest office in the party can give; mistakes that are not compensated by any success in mass leadership—the National Committee, composed of rank and file workers who not only had to direct their work but had to raise from the workers in the industry thousands of dollars to meet the most necessary expenses in their stupendous task of calling scores of meetings attended by thousands upon thousands of workers and distributing over a million leaflets, this National Committee found its leading members denounced by our own party press, and was generally treated with extreme harshness

The C. E. C. found it possible to maintain for some months two paid party officials in New York for the express purpose of fighting the "deviations" of our own comrades on the National Committee; but when in times of acute crisis the National Committee, fighting the employers and the yellow bureaucracy, appealed to the C. E. C. for financial assistance, they found invariably a deaf ear.

For refusing to ally themselves with either faction the comrades of the National Committee are being punished, denounced and persecuted by both factions.

Altho they have been unjustly discredited, and the party factions demoralized, they are now the actual leaders of the first great fight ever waged by the Communist movement in the class struggle of America.

Our comrades are winning position after position in the fight, without any compromise of revolutionary principles. The Sigman and the Breslau-Heller machine in the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union are crumbling before our eyes; the Kaufman machine in the Furriers Union has been completely routed; the Schlesinger-Forward machine is facing a serious internal dissension.

As a consequence thereof the Forward has lost in the last two months 30,000 readers, and the Freiheit has gained about half of that number.

The fight led by the National Committee has already added greatly to the prestige of our party, resulting in a compact mass following organizationally of 40,000 workers, and ideologically close and constant contact with many times that number, and will yield further organizational results among the trade union elements, a consideration always stressed by the Comintern.

But every wrong prognosis, even every mistake committed by individual comrades without the sanction of the National Committee, every mistaken decision that had to be made on the spur of the moment without chance for previous consultation, every chance suggestion made in preliminary party discussion, is snapped up, perverted, enlarged, attributed to the whole National Committee and served up to the party membership with relish, as the only thing worth while to discuss on the industrial field.

6. The Two Leading Groups—On the Political Field. A short analysis of the leading groups in our party will greatly help us to understand the reason for the continuous conflict and confusion. It will also reveal why even orders of the Comintern have absolutely no effect upon them.

One group, known as the minority, is composed of elements that were extremely heterogeneous in political outlook and party history from 1919 till July, 1923. At that time the present minority leadership struck upon an issue which welded their following into a group, trailing since then in close formation after the phantom of a mass class farmer labor party. They immediately recognized this as an internal political asset.

It it this policy, of following an issue thru think and thin—no matter whether it leads into the by-ways of leftist sectarianism, as in 1923 (break with the Fitzpatrick group and organization of the federated farmer labor party) or upon the highways of social democratic opportunism, as in 1924-5 (the La Follette alliance and the continued farmer labor party slogan)—of mistaking their subjective excitement for an objectively revolutionary situation—and never admitting any mistakes—which furnishes the basic cohesion of the minority. Their utter lack of mass following absolves them from any obligation in that respect, and permits them to turn their attention mainly to matters of internal group formation.

Against this group arose a movement in the party, culminating in the present majority—it was a reaction against the unyielding party sectarianism of July, 1923. The majority is homogeneous in that it sprang from the American left wing trade union movement; but such possibilities of lasting organiational results as they had thru their former connections they destroyed by continuously erroneous policies on the political as well as on the industrial field.

As far as their party and political history is concerned they had nothing in common at all until July, 1923. Since they are greatly lacking in theoretical understanding and critical analysis based upon it, they are continually overawed and orientated by real and imagined objective conditions, with utter contempt for Communist theory, and ignorant of the inherent social forces. This leads them into a different but also a siz-zag path, leading from sectarian leftism (dropping of the labor party slogan) to social-democratic opportunism (La Follette).

This explains the curves of right and left wing deviation; and how these curves sometimes meet, as in the day of LaFollette, when both, the majority and minority were to the right.

But in 1923 the majority deviated to the right, and the minority to the left.

And in 1925 the minority deviated to the right, and the majority to the left.

7. The Two Leading Groups—On the Industrial Field.

Here we find the same ideological forces shaping the policies of these two groups.

The minority stands for "political work in the trade unions"; in their practical application this amounts to a tendency of immediate "cashing in" on our investment of Communist prestige, regardless of the larger consequences. Several years ago some of its present leaders were particularly responsible for a good deal of our deliberately destructive dual-unionist policy. This non-co-operation with left blocks easily and usually leads to sectarianism, but in the peculiar case of the typographical union it led to the support of the arch-reactionary Lynch.

The majority has right along been particularly identified with trade union activity. We find here its usual exaggerated pliability toward "objective conditions"; but it also takes into account some peculiar subjective conditions, e. g., when a policy of compromise is promoted by a majority supporter it represents invariably Bolshevism, when the same is done by others it is "Loreism on the industrial field."

The outstanding opportunist deviations of the majority are represented by the following instances: Foster's letter to Sigman, the support of Cappelini, the Anderson slate in the International Association of Machinists.

But a veritable jungle of opportunism do we find in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers where the party leadership has for three years systematically suppressed the elemental opposition of the left wing membership against the Hillman machine—ever since the fateful convention of 1922. Today our party leadership recognizes its unmitigated defeat at the hands of Hillman and reverses its policies; the membership stands vindicated, but the left wing movement in the A. C. W. is shattered, demoralized and impotent.

The recent instruction of the Comintern, not to identify the T. U. E. L. so much with the party, has shaken the majority out of the sectarian rut into which they had fallen in many other instances, e. g., in including the slogan for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Progressive Building Trades Worker.

8. The Two Leading Groups—On the Defensive.

It is necessary to appreciate the precarious position of our party leadership with such a record of intellectual, political and organizational bankruptcy, known to our membership in detail. The obvious thing to do was, therefore, to evade the issues, suppress discussion on one pretext or another, and to raise fake issues. In order to distract the attention of the Comintern and the W. P. membership from the wretched position into which we had gotten despite our political and organization opportunities, the mutual charges of factionalism and failure were elevated into a political campaign; and we may say in passing that both factions are substantially correct in their charges.

9. Lore, Loreism and Factionalism. We agree with the decision of the Comintern containing the criticism of Lore, and the enumeration of Lore's mistakes; for these mistakes we must hold responsible on the one hand Lore personally, on the other hand the C. E. C. of our party.

Two of his worst mistakes were the recent slighting of the nationalist revolution of the oppressed people of China (a violation of the fundamentals of Leninism) and a naive assumption that Wm. Green, president of the A. F. of L., "fell a victim" to the blandishments of Coolidge in his recent call for a conference on China (indicating an absolute misunderstanding of the role of the class-collaborationists in the trade union movement).

The parity commission says, "But the first prerequisite for the successful liquidation of Loreism is the liquidation of the factional struggle between the majority and the minority, and the unification of the two groups on the basis of the policies and tactics of the Comintern."

The second step should be the instruction to Lore to appear before the Comintern in Moscow; the Comintern has successfully liquidated such other deviations as were represented by Trotsky, Serrati, etc., and we are sure the Comintern will know how to deal with Lore to the best interests of the international Communist movement.

Loreism was however conveniently used by both factions as a political disinfectant against any germs of opposition that are likely to arise—and any such tendency will then be nipped in the bud by just being labelled Loreism. On the other hand, whatever was to be exalted—no matter how silly—was palmed off as representing Leninism, again calculated to silence any opposition. This simple method was used as an effective means of intellectual terrorization, stultifying discussion—a blanket attack, and excellent smoke screen against real Communist criticism.

In their eagerness to play the game both groups defied the Comintern openly and deliberately. While there were ever so often, pious, ridiculous, and impotent unity committees formed by the party to conform with the letter of the Comintern decision, as a matter of fact, any individual or group that did heed the Comintern and refused to enlist in the mutual factional fight under the auspices of either the majority or the minority, was quickly squirted at with a dose of Loreism, tarred, feathered and lynched as a Loreite, and put into the "Lore group."

10. Constructive Criticism.

The shop nucleus form of organization is the hope of the Communist movement the world over; and any action bringing that idea into disrepute is a slap in the face of the Comintern. At present we have in New York a row of Potemkin's villages in the form of so-called shop nuclei without functions, without information as to members in these shop nuclei, what shops, if any, these members are actually working in, when and where they are holding shop nuclei meetings, etc. The Comintern, in a realistic manner states in the Theses on Bolshevization and Organization Question: "The campaign commenced for the reorganization of our parties on a factory and workshop nuclei basis should be energetically pursued and brought to a conclusion. There are cases when such reorganization should not be forced, e. g., small parties in big industrial countries." We call the attention of the incoming C. E. C. to this judgment of the Comintern, and instruct them to proceed with the required care in this matter; to discontinue the present caricatures of shop nuclei, never conceived by the Comintern, which very effectively prejudice the rank and file of the party against the principle of shop nuclei, and make it still more difficult to change our incorrect form of social democratic organization.

Our educational work must be undertaken seriously, and a responsible office in this work must never be looked upon as just an honorary degree; but we must actually settle down to provide text books, instructors and classes to the membership, stop being satisfied with continual plans and talks about education, produce results instead of excuses, and raise the low theoretical level of the party.

An important factor of education and Bolshevization is discussion at membership meetings. In New York we had no membership meeting at all for over seven months, and even the few before that were worth very little. The Comintern "does not object to a concrete and calm discussion being carried on until the party congress," but as a matter of fact we find ourselves in a straitjacket, unable to carry on any discussion worthy of the Communist movement, and it is virtually forbidden to discuss certain phases at all, even during the pre-convention period.

The theses of the Comintern issue an emphatic warning. "Most important questions of policy and tactics as a rule were discussed and decided in many countries, not by all the members of the party, but by a permanently officiating body of functionaries which were not authorized in every individual case by the members of the party to pass decisions on the given questions. Not infrequently, the body of functionaries supplanted the party conference and the drafting of party questions by the party members themselves. This doomed the members of the party to passivity and prevented them from being drawn into active participation in party life.

Out of 14 full-time party workers in the New York district (exclusive of the federation offices) 13 are directly or indirectly appointed by the [illegible] Executive Committee.

We must direct the attention of the Comintern to the enforced pre-convention period of over ten months with the inevitable consequences of organizational stagnation and slackening of discipline; this is responsible for a good deal of the unbridled factionalism that is driving our membership into its present caucus frenzy.

Our work in the trade union (and similarly in other workers' organizations) consists of: participation in union activities, rasing of trade issues raising of union issues, participation in union elections, progressive politica issues, revolutionary trade issues, revolutionary union issues, revolutionary political issues, etc.

There is no rigid sequence to be observed in our campaign to win the workers in these organizations for Communism; but a premature advance to issues that interferes with an effective organizational and ideological development, impatience to make these organizations the vehicles for our advanced campaigns, must be stopped.

In the words of Lenin, "it is not enough to be a revolutionary and partisan of Communism. One must know how to find at any given moment the link of the chain on which we can strain, which will enable one to pull on the whole chain, and to pass to the next link."

Any attempt to maneuver for office for the sake of the office must be sternly suppressed.

We fully concur with the Comintern stipulation concerning the organization of a labor party. In view of our sad experience with figures in the case of the federated farmer labor party, etc., we specify the number of 500,000 to apply to unions with a bona fide duespaying membership of that extent, that have authorized their participation.

11. Appeal to the Membership.

Even tho we carry our revolutionary passion right into the internal controversies of the party, we should nevertheless be open to the demands of reason and to the interests of our revolutionary task.

A great deal of the controversy in the party is of a purely factional nature and not upon any issues of principle—as pointed out by the parity commission. Two groups in the party are brutally out for power, and subvert everything else in the party to attain their ends.

We appeal to the rank and file of the party to abandon all factional alignments and to judge each issue upon its merit only.

We further appeal to the rank and file to vote down the factional interpretations of the Comintern statetment, which have started another chapter of factional controversy.

Vote for the Comintern statement without qualifications or reservations.

Down with factionalism.

Long live the revolutionary unity.

Joseph Bradly, Jack Jampolsky, members of Executive Committee, District No. 2.

For the New York Group.

Are You Coming to the Movie Picnic?

Did you buy a ticket to the picnic given by the Federation of Russian children's schools Sunday, August 23, at National Grove, Riverside, Ill.? Moving pictures of the crowds will be taken and shown all over the United States and in Soviet Russia. Tickets in advance are only 35c and may be obtained in the Russian Co-op. Restaurants and at the Workers House, 1902 W. Division St. Get your tickets in advance and save your car fare.

Worker Killed in Vat.

DEL AIR, N. J., Aug. 20.—(FP)—John Hill, employed by Kirkhofer Container Co., was scalded to death when a heavy paddle wheel struk him into a vat where rags and paper were being reduced to pulp by boiling.

Build the DAILY WORKER with subs.

LABOR DAY TO BRING CROWDS TO BIG PICNIC

T. U. E. L. and Freiheit Joint Affair Sept. 7

Preliminary arrangements give promise of the biggest turnout of the year at the combined jollification picnic of the Trade Union Educational League and the Freiheit on Labor Day, which falls on Monday, Sept. 7th.

At a meeting of the committee Tuesday evening, at which the representatives of different groups interested gave spirited expression of their desire to make the event one to be remembered, plans were laid for a mobilization of all workers' language groups and the inclusion in the affair of all sorts of enticing games, refreshments and intellectual treats.

To Visit Branches.

Many comrades will be conscripted to visit the various workers' organizations to tell them of the holiday to be observed by Chicago workers at Stickney park, in the suburb of Lyons, on Labor Day. All these comrades are requested to report the results of their visits to Walter Carmon or Harrison George at the DAILY WORKER office.

Many interesting games are to be arranged for by Comrade Pederson, while Comrades Wirkkula, Garver, Simonson and Meltz are engaged to see that athletics in the form of wrestling, boxing, indoor ball and tugs-of-war are to lend life and humor to the biggest event of the season. Even the Juniors are to have a hand in the games under the guidance of Comrade Louise Morrison. And then some of Labor's best speakers will be there.

Women in Tug-of-War.

A unique feature of the picnic will be two tugs-of-war, one between the men of the T. U. E. L. and Freiheit groups, organized respectively by Comrades Held and Simonson, and between the women of these groups, organized by Comrades Clara Rubinstein and Rose Rubin.

An executive committee on arrangements was elected, including Steve Rubiki, Pederson, Johnstone and Steinberg. All general committeemen are instructed to report at 19 South Lincoln street Tuesday evening, Aug. 25th, for the second meeting, and sympathizing organizations are requested to co-operate. All aboard for a big Labor Day celebration!

JOHN D. FIRES MINERS REFUSING WAGE REDUCTION

DENVER, Colo., Aug. 20.—Sixteen coal miners of the Crested Butte mine have been discharged by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. because they declined to sign the company union petition asking for a 15 per cent wage cut. The company is a Rockefeller organization and is the concern selected by John D. Jr. for his so-called "industrial democracy" plan after Rockefeller gunmen and Colorado troopers had burned women and children in the Ludlow strike.

The petition asked for a wage below the minimum line for miners with families. The 16 held out against strong pressure, refusing to request in writing that their families submit to starvation. Two days later they were fired. They are vainly appealing to the Colorado industrial commission.

Four men discharged at the Clayton mine of the Morrison Co. have been ordered reinstated by the industrial commission. They are expert and industrious miners and the commission held that they had been fired for "agitational" activity in behalf of the United Mine Workers. Union membership is increasing in the Colorado Mine Workers.

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LENIN

NO worker—AND SURELY NO COMMUNIST—can truthfully say he has a thoro grasp of Communist principles and practice—unless he has studied and learned them as put down in these classics written by our great teacher and leader—

V. I. Ulianov (Lenin)

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Praise From the Enemy Is No Praise

Daniel O'Connel, famous Irish nationalist leader made a statement which became historic, when he said that whenever the British government paid him a compliment, he went home and examined his conscience. This is a good thing for the working class to bear in mind. When their leaders are praised by the capitalists or the agents of capitalism, it indicates that there is something the matter with the leaders.

The New York Times in a recent issue showered undiluted praise on Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America for establishing the so-called impartial machinery in the men's clothing industry in New York and also the establishment of a minimum standard of production, with the union, bound to enforce the terms of the agreement.

The editorial, without having any intention of being funny dilates on the alleged peace which Hillman's class collaboration policy brot abont in the New York men's clothing industry. Perhaps the editorial writer did not read the story of the strike at the International Tailoring Company plant or of the vicious injunction against picketing handed down by Judge Churchill, a "friend of labor" who was endorsed by the New York Trades and Labor Council. No, the Times was not intent on providing the workers with something to giggle over. It was simply putting out propaganda for company unionism, towards which the policy of Hillman will inevitably lead the Amalgamated.

Hillman's beautiful dream, of substituting co-operation with the boss for the class struggle did not bring peace. It happens that the members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers who slave in the shops have no guarantee of $7,500 a year strike or no strike, employment or unemployment, like their president, Mr. Hillman. This is where Hillman's class collaboration plan gets pricked by a needle. The tailors must strike or squeeze their belts a litle tighter. Then the courts come out with their injunctions. Or when the courts fail to do this the police arrest union officials and active union members and frame them up as they did in Chicago. Hillman is undoubtedly head over heels in love with class collaboration, but the rank and file are not smitten. Hence the police raids and the injunctions.

The Times editorial carried the following chunk of dynamite which is called to the attention of the members of the Amalgamated Clithing Workers: *"The employers have asked for authority to penalize workers by deductions in their pay when they fall below the established standards of production. It is understood that the union has consented to the employers' proposal in return for their pledge to grant the union's demand and that a final agreement will be reached on that basis when the details are hammered out."* This is a nice kettle of fish! If the Times version is correct, Hillman agrees to stand behind the tailor and see that he maintains a certain standard of production or else submit to having his pay envelope looted. Thus the Amalgamated instead of being a union to help its members in the constant struggle against the employers, would become a weapon in the hands of the employers playing the same role as the slave drivers of the South in the days prior to the civil war.

The Socialist Party of France

The congress of the socialist party of France voted to refuse further support to the Painleve government. The ostensible reason for this action is Painleve's failure to make public the peace terms offered by the French government to Abd-El-Krim. The real reason is two fold.

First: The socialists were not able to exact satisfactory terms from the Painleve government.

Secondly: The campaign carried on by the Communists against the Moroccan war which the socialists supported was rapidly alienating the remnants of its proletarian following from the socialist party. Hence the gesture of political purity.

The hypocrisy of this gesture is apparent. The French military leaders expect to win the Moroccan campaign by October. If they don't win by then, they admit the stiuation is hopeless. Parliament does not meet until the middle of October. Therefore the socialist resolution of approval does not affect the government's policy in Morocco.

If the French campaign against the Riffs is successful, Painleve will probably retain power despite the socialist defection. If it is a failure the aid of the socialists could not save him.

When parliament was in session, only the Communists opposed the Riff war. They were arrested and imprisoned for their attitude. The socialists agreed that France must defend her prestige in Morocco. They only disagreed with Painleve over the manner in which the war should be conducted.

Thus the socialists have given further evidence of their hypocrisy and their betrayal of the workers, while making a bluff at differentiating themselves from the capitalist parties. This camouflage will not forever fool the masses.

Wales in the Argentine

His royal highness, the prince of Wales is in the Argentine, on his father's business, so to speak. That is, he is serving as royal drummer for the imperial bagmen who sell the products of Britain in South America, in competition with the United States and other countries.

The prince is trying to undo the harm done by "Black Jack" Pershing on a previous visit. Pershing was doing for Wall Street what the prince was doing for Threadneedle Street. It is another proof of the deadly competition between the two imperialist powers.

His royal highness is scheduled to open the national livestock show today. This will give him a good opportunity to sling the bull. That the prince is not traveling merely to sample various brands of hootch or test the respective terpsichorean merits of the daughters of many lands, is shown by the following paragraph in a news item from Buenos Aires:

"The prince finds British capital strongly intrenched and leading all other foreign investments. Investors hope that the present entertainment of the prince will have a beneficial influence on Argentine politicians who have a tendency to penalize British and other foreign capital at every opportunity." That's that. The pussy is out of the bag.

What Is the Issue? - - By Max Bedacht

THE American proletariat is as yet comparatively far removed from class consciousness: It does not yet exist as an independent factor. It does not yet function as a class. Thus to all intents and purposes the American proletariat is not yet formed as a class.

In this situation it becomes the task of the Communists to hasten the birth of the proletariat as a class.

In analyzing the political and economic situation in the United States our party must find the best means, the most adequate slogans and campaigns for the accomplishment of this task.

With a convention contemplated, it became the task of the leadership of our organization to analyze the political and economic situation in the country, to give our party the direction for its future work. It is in these analyses where eventual differences of concept existing in the party become apparent. Different evaluations of existing factors naturally lead to different conclusions and to different policies.

THE minority of the Central Executive Committee, in analyzing the situation came to the conclusion:

First, that the awakening of the American proletariat ot political consciousness is the most important immediate task of our party, and

Second, that a labor party slogan and campaign is the best means to accomplish it under existing conditions.

The majority of our Central Executive Cmmittee, on the other hand, came to different conclusions. It denied both of the contentions of the minority. It claimed:

First, that the American working class is sufficiently class conscious to accept Communist leadership,

Second, that the American working class is too backward to accept a labor party, and

Third, that a labor party campaign and slogan would not hasten the acceptance of Communist leadership by the American proletariat, but on the contrary, would retard it.

This different evaluation of the situation and the resulting difference in proposed orientation for our party became the issue before our party. This, and nothing else. The theses of both sides proved that; every article published in the discussion confirms it.

Since the decision of the Comintern there has been a consistent effort on the part of the majority of the C. E. C. to twist the issue. This tactic of our C. E. C. majority is only a manifestation of the lack of Bolshevik qualities of our party. In a Bolshevik party either the leadership would have a sufficient feeling of political responsibility to prevent it from beclouding the most important political issue before the party, because its duty is to clarify it—or a Bolshevik party would have a sufficiently clear membership to sweep from position of leadership any comrade who would dare, for the sake of retaining his position, to becloud issues instead of clarifying them.

THE majority of the Central Executive Committee is trying to make the party believe that the issue was not whether a labor party but what kind of a labor party. A cool consideration of the circumstances under which the controversy developed, will prove the falseness of that claim. The question of what kind of a labor party would naturally develop first of all in a situation where the party is confronted with a crystallization of a labor party. No such condition existed in November, 1924. The sole question which agitated the Central Executive Committee and the party was the question of whether or not it was advisable under existing circumstances to propogate among the American workers the formation of a labor party. The answer of the majority was no while the minority answered yes. The ever repeated argument of the majority that there is no sentiment for a labor party proves at once two things: first, that the argument was whether or not a labor party, and, second, that the majority did not understand the first postulate of the minority: that the awakening of the American proletariat to political consciousness is the most important task of our party.

The Communist International has made its decision. The question might be asked here: why is it necessary to dig down into the past when our future course is clearly prescribed by the decision of the Comintern. Our answer is that while the future course is clearly prescribed our party needs a pilot, a leadership which can navigate the waters of the American class struggle according to the prescribed course to the benefit of the American proletariat. It is not sufficient for the leadership to declare their general acceptance of the orders, but such leadership must also show the qualifications to carry them out. In judging the qualifications past performances become important considerations for the present.

AFTER we had established the exact nature of the issue we may consider the present attitude of the majority of the C. E. C. toward it. I have before me the minutes of the American commission of the Comintern. In its sixth session held April 25th, I find Comrade Foster speaking thus: "I want to state that in general the resolution is acceptable to the majority. However, there are some points there we feel should be amended. For example, on page six, the American text, the last sentence reads as follows: 'They feel that the slogan of a labor party is the general conclusion of all their everyday demands and then the slogan will possess irresistible force.'

"We propose," continues Comrade Foster, "that this sentence be struck out altogether as this sentence will tend to overstress entirely the role of the labor party. We tihnk that IT IS ACCEPTABLE and that the propagation of a labor party is not going to work out in that respect."

Here we have a pilot accepting orders and at the same time showing unmistakable signs that he firstly does not consider the order a good one that he considers essential parts of the order as unacceptable, and secondly that he does not understand the order at all. When Comrade Foster says that this sentence "tends to overstress entirely the role of the labor party" he proves that he does not yet understand why the propagation of a labor party is an important revolutionary issue in America. If Comrade Foster and the majority considers this an overstressing of the role of the labor party then he cannot consider the labor party an acceptable policy, because only on account of the labor party's role as a unifying slogan, driving home to the workers the political significance of the class struggle, is the labor party policy an important policy of the American Communist Party. If the labor party propaganda "is not going to work out in that respect" then the C. I. decision is wrong; then the minority is wrong and the majority is right. But since the majority, thru Comrade Foster's mouth, accepted the decision of the Comintern as correct it must also accept the premise upon which the decision was made, namely, that the labor party slogan tends to accomplish the task of awakening the proletarian masses in America to political consciousness.

The Comintern did not make its decision acceptable to the majority. It refused to concede to Comrade Foster's demands.

SINCE our majority refuses to accept the premises of the Comintern its protestations of acceptance of the C. I. decision are meaningless. Especially meaningless do these protestations become when they are made as a bid for leadership. Leadership does not only presuppose the acceptance of orders but demands also an understanding of the orders and a thoro agreement with them. Our majority has proven beyond doubt that it has neither the understanding nor is it in agreement with the labor party policy.

The majority is conscious of this shortcoming and therefore adopted the policy of switching the discussion from the real issue. This tactic is neither Bolshevik nor is it conducive to the development of Bolshevism in our party. Instead of driving home to the members an understanding of the general political orientation of our party it deliberately blocks such understanding and elevates the raising of fake issues to a political principle. If our party was ever confronted with the dangers of any "fake" it is the danger of fake issues raised by a leadership which was caught in the act of misdirecting the party.

AVALANCHE OF FANCY LYING BY ANTHRACITE OPERATORS PROVEN TO BE ANTI-UNION PROPAGANDA

By ALEX REID
(Secretary of the Progressive Miners' Committee.)
(ARTICLE I—On Anthracite.)

A super-human attempt is being made at this time to misinform the miners and other workers thruout the country of the actual conditions existing in the Anthracite. Volumes of misleading figures are being sent thruout the country in an attempt to influence the workers against the miners in that part of the mining industry. Thousands of dollars of blood money wrung out of the miners' lives are being spent in this unholy campaign by the coal operators.

Some very important capitalist papers are quoting figures to show that the anthracite miners' wages vary from $1,200 to $6,500 per year. Truly, a very wide range of figures, but a standing reward will be paid any person who can show that the miners in the anthracite average $1,000 per year. The following table taken from the 1922 official report of the United States Coal Commission will show the hollowness of the capitalists' fake figures.

Eleven Classes.

Eleven classes of inside labor earn wages from $890 to $1,400 per year, and since that report was published, 10 per cent increase has been given the miners making the range jump to $990 to $1,500. It must be remembered that the above figures are gross earnings and no mention is made about the deductions that are taken off them.

The coal commission figures follow:

Bratticemen and carpenters	$1,425
Drivers	1,290
Doortenders and patchers, boys	890
Engineers	1,400
Headmen and footmen	1,335
Company laborers	1,345
Company miners	1,525
Pumpmen	1,430
Car runners	1,300
Timbermen	1,780
Tracklayers	1,430

It will be readily noticed that when the miners pay rent, doctor, insurance, lights, explosives, keep up their tools, etc., etc., there is very little left to feed a family.

The miners in the anthracite do not average $25 per week the year round. Most of the miners are burdened with large families. Considering the high cost of living anyone can easily see the condition of the hard coal slaves. The coal commission also reports that forty-nine per cent of the miners earned around one hundred dollars per month.

Found Miners' Families Ill-fed.

Further on in their report, they state that they investigated five hundred and fifty-five miners' homes, where earnings were low, and they found that the food consumed did not confrom in variety to the standards set by experts as essential for healthful living.

Why was the coal commission's report buried by the coal operators, and why has the fake leaders of the miners refused to carry on a campaign to have it published and broadcasted?

The commission clearly pointed out that living conditions at the mines were terrible, and recommended that the following improvements be installed at once: Living conditions to be improved, by water being brot into the houses; that bath houses should be provided, together with sanitary arrangements, and adequate sewerage facilities.

Even the Capitalist Government Disproves Lies.

The commission's report regarding wages was based on full time worked thruout the year. The work of the miners in the anthracite is of such a nature that no miner can stand up to it six days per week, and the result is his earnings are proportionately cut down.

In fact, the commission, referring to this situation, states that the miners, with a few exceptions, earn from $600 to $1,300 against a cost of living estimated at $2,000, and a careful reading of their report leads one to some very, very definite conclusions as to the steps to be taken to solve the coal problem.

Another instalment of the anthracite will be published in tomorrow's DAILY WORKER.

Armed Miners of Zeigler Defend Homes Against Terrorists

(Continued from page 1)

cold feet, and this morning only a few men tried to get into the mine.

There are 18 men arrested so far upon the warrants issued charging "conspiracy to murder." Among these are Henry Corbishley, deposed president of the Zeigler miners' local and a foe of the Farrington-klan machine. Others include Corbishley's two brothers and Matt Crjnoevich, a militant leader of the progressive miners' of this camp. The bail is set at $200 each, and Corbishley and his brother miners are now released. Other warrants are yet not served.

Set Hearing for Aug. 26.

The preliminary hearing is set for August 26. Attorney H. E. Morgan is retained for the defense. The spirit of the miners is running high against the labor fakers and the klan who have thus combined to intimidate and persecute them.

Warrants Sworn Out by Labor Faker.

Farrington has declared in the public press that he will drive the miners of Zeigler back to work, and the attempted armed terror of the ku klux klan is evidently his first effort. The warrants against the union miners were sworn out by one of the officials of the U. M. W. of A.—D. B. Cobb, vice-president of Sub-District 9.

Cobb and Lon Fox, the sub-district president, are the original cause of the present trouble, as it was their successful stealing of the election last year which set every honest miner in the sub-district against them, but won to their side the bootleggers, K. K. K. and the secret forces of the mine operators.

Miners Organize to Fight Back.

The miners all over the state are organizing a demand for a special district convention, to clean house of all such vermin officials and to protect the union against election thieves and official disrupters such as Cobb, who has sworn out warrants against members of his union. Resolutions are pouring into the sub-district office from the locals condemning this treachery to the cause of labor and demanding re-instatement of local officers.

GENERAL STRIKE NEEDED TO SAVE THE W. VA. MINERS

Railroaders Must Stop Hauling Scab Coal

By AN OLD COAL MINER.
(Worker Correspondent.)

SHINNSTON, W. Va., Aug. 20.—From what I see around here in West Virginia it looks like the coal miners' strike will be lost unless John L. Lewis calls a general strike on Sept. 1st. I personally know that if the hard coal fields are settled Lewis will not call the general strike.

Should Call General Strike.

I will say this much: Again us poor miners are waiting for the first of September only. If it's a general strike it is O. K., and if not all of us are returning to work. We have struck better than six months. I do hope that Lewis calls a general strike.

Must Stop Hauling Scab Coal.

I was talking to a railroader the other day, and the question of a railroad strike was brot up. He told me that the laws of the United States forbid them from affiliating with the A. F. of L., as the coal miner did, and that they could not pull a strike as we did, and that they had to look out for the people in the large cities.

He said that if they came out on strike for one week, that thousands of little children would starve. I think it would be better for a few to starve now than for the whole United States to starve the rest of their lives. And they would not have to strike to help us out. All they would have to do would be stop hauling scab coal.

Governor to Name Ladd's Successor, Leaguers Shut Out

BISMARCK, N. D., Aug. 20.—A new United States senator, to fill the place made vacant by E. F. Ladd, deceased, is to be chosen for North Dakota. Governor Sorlie, Nonpartisan leaguer, says he will appoint a "progressive" for the post.

It has been the custom in the past for the nonpartisan league organization in North Dakota to name all candidates for state and national office and delegates of the league met here some time ago for the purpose of indorsing a man for the United States senate.

It appeared, however, that Sorlie was determined to do this job himself, and altho some of the leaguers were against this procedure, the governor's control of jobs was sufficient to whip the majority of the delegates into line.

Women Back Channel Swim.

NEW YORK, Aug. 20.—A second attempt to swim the English channel by Gertrude Ederle, American girl swimmer, will be backed financially by the Women's Swimming Association of New York, officials of the organization announced today.

Electricity to Battle Age.

LONDON, Aug. 20.—Now that the world has laughed away the alleged "rejuvenation" claims for monkey glands, an English inventor has come forward with the claim that he is able to rejuvenate the old and put off the old-age feeling in the middle-aged by the medium of electricity.

GEORGIAN GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY EXPEDITION REACHES TOP OF PEAK

TIFLIS, Aug. 20.—Five girls, and the tea they made, were given credit today for the successful ascent of Mount El Bruz, Europe's highest mountain, by a party of nineteen members of the Georgian Geographic Society.

Mount El Bruz is 18,526 feet above sea level at the pinnacle, which gives it an elevation 3,000 feet greater than Mont Blanc.

During the frequent stops in the ascent, the five girls made pots of tea and served the weary climbers.

TURN FIRE HOSE ON 34 JAILED I. W. W. MEMBERS

Arrested for Boycott of N. D. Counties

FARGO, N. D., Aug. 20.—The Fargo fire department was called out last night to quell a protest of 34 I. W. W. confined in the Cass county jail. The sheriff boasted that "we practically drowned them." The men are to be called before the justice of the peace on charges of "malicious mischief."

The I. W. W. were put in jail because they actively agitated for a boycott on Fargo and Cass county, complaining that 16 harvest hands were unjustly arrested on Aug. 3rd. Northwest authorities generally have become notorious for their disregard of the rights of the harvest workers.

Phonograph Work Revives.

PHILADELPHIA, August 20.—(FP)—Victor Talking Machine Co. is taking on workers at the rate of 100 a day, bringing its force to 4,500, because of increased production of phonographs equipped with radio receiving sets.

British Missionaries Safe.

LONDON, Aug. 20.—Eight British missionaries belonging to the Church Missionary Society who were captured by bandits in China are safe and are being kindly treated, according to advices received here today.

BUILDING LABOR WINS STRIKES IN NEW HAEVN

Some Contractors Give In, Others Weaken

NEW HAVEN, Conn., August 20.—(FP)—Twenty or more contractors signed up with striking building laborers when all other workers except bricklayers walked out in sympathy. About 200 hodcarriers and laborers are affected by the agreements which give them their wage increases to 75 and 85 cents an hour. The five biggest contractors, who employ over 400 laborers, are refusing to grant workers' demands despite the sympathetic strike.

Union bricklayers are out on the office building job contracted by Leonard Construction Co., headed by former Senator Harry A. Leonard, because the company employs non-union men on another job. Bricklayers are prevented by their agreement with employers from participating in sympathetic strikes.

The general strike committee is hopeful that because of Leonard's breach of contract all union bricklayers will walk off their jobs. Leonard is the leader of the builders' association fight against building trades unions in New Haven.

Soviet Planes Going to Canton.

SHANGHAI, Aug. 20.—Two Soviet airplanes, en route to Canton on a flight from Moscow, arrived today at Kaifeng, according to reports received here.

Close Convent in Mexico.

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 20.—The convent of Guadalajara has been closed by police order and thirteen Spanish nuns ordered expelled under the terms of a law prohibiting foreign teachers in Mexican schools.

Calles Trying to Put It Over.

MEXICO CITY, Aug. 20.—To facilitate settlement of the controversy raging over the agrarian laws, President Calles has announced plans to give the leaders of the agrarian commission diplomatic appointments abroad and to replace them with commissioners more in sympathy with the proposed reforms.

DO YOUR PART FOR THE PRISONERS

THE jails of the world are filled with political prisoners. In India, China, Japan, Germany, Italy, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and the United States thousands of workers have fallen victims to the capitalist courts and are dragging out weary months and years in filthy jails from which they will emerge, if death does not first overtake them, ill and broken.

Workers are persecuted and jailed wherever capitalism flourishes. From Tom Mooney in a California jail to political prisoners in India, jailed, tortured and beaten, there is no difference in the motive of the bosses or the crime of the prisoners. It is the attempt on the part of courageous workers to free their own class at the risk of death and the revenge of the bourgeois class against those who would wrest from them their power. And this revenge in its frenzy knows no bounds. And it is useless to hope for mercy. Our hope lies only in ourselves. A strong defense must be built up with which to fight; and funds must be raised for the wives and children of class war prisoners; for legal defense and counsel and for affording some material comfort for the victims themselves, who, in black holes of the jails that capitalism has provided for the workers, wait and hope for a message from the outside.

The International Labor Defense has been organized for the great purpose of defending and caring for those who fall in the first trenches of the war between bosses and workers. Its scope is international and its aim is to defend class war prisoners everywhere, no matter what their political affiliations. In this great work help is needed. Each one must do his bit. This means you and your fellow workers.

Help to make the outing at Pleasant Bay park, New York, Aug. 23rd, a success.

"The idea becomes power when it penetrates the masses." —Karl Marx.

SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT
THE DAILY WORKER

SECOND SECTION
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SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1925 200

China's Fight for Freedom

By L. M. KARAKHAN.

NOTE—The following is a translation of the speech delivered by Soviet Ambassador to China, L. M. Karakhan at the entertainment given by Mr. Mochizuki at the Hotel de Peking at Peking, China.

* * *

May I be permitted first of all to thank Mr. Mochizuki for the honor of his kind invitation to a banquet, where I see such a brilliant gathering of distinguished representatives of so many various circles of Peking. It was with profound interest that I listened to our host's admirable address, one that is the more valuable and interesting as the speaker is an eminent representative and a most influential member of the leading government party in Japan.

In his speech Mr. Mochizuki touched upon a number of all-important problems connected with China, problems that move us all, and consequently I willingly respond to his invitation to me that I say a few words, and I will try as briefly as possible, without taking advantage of your patience, in the same frank and outspoken way to express my views on the present situation in China. I shall do this in the best hope that, in such a distinguished company, my word will not be taken as evil propaganda.

I think Mr. Mochizuki was quite right when, in his searching analysis of the present events in China, he wished to briefly review facts having occurred during the last decade, and it was quite to the point when our esteemed host recalled the world war, the Versailles conference and the seven demands brot up at that conference by the Chinese delegation, then the fourteen points as proclaimed by Mr. Wilson and, lastly, the policy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in China and the treaty concluded between the Union and China in 1924.

Soviets' Policy of Equality.

The facts which he enumerated Mr. Mochizuki, looks upon as the cause of the national liberative movement which is growing and spreading before our eyes in China. And I with Mr. Mochizuki believe that the causes of the actual events in China are deeply rooted in those great changes in the conscience and in the relations between peoples which have been brot about by the events of the last decade.

Indeed, what is it that we have witnessed? We had the world war, a war which was trumpetted as aiming at ensuring to the peoples their national freedom and self-determination and equality in international relationship; then the Versailles conference, where these principles were not taken into consideration, while the proposition of the Chinese delegation which would have placed China on an equal footing with other powers was rejected without so much as having even been given consideration; then again, the Paris conference was, with an interval; followed by the Washington conference, which obviously failed to give satisfaction to China's national aspirations, while even the rather insignificant resolutions of that conference could not be carried out; the fourteen points of Mr. Wilson, which for a moment shone over China like a ray of hope that vanished all too soon; then at last, the establishment of the Soviet government, which thru a prolonged struggle conquered its right to an existence worthy of it, the Soviet government with its policy of equality with regard to China just as in regard to other countries, and the renunciation of unequal treaties by the Soviet republics.

Disillusionment of Chinese.

All those facts, which every Chinese interested in the fate of his own country well knows, could not but make a deep impression on the Chinese people, making it think seriously over its sad condition and try to see if it could and must seek ways to establish relations with all the world on a footing of perfect equality.

There may have been some who believed that the silence which immediately followed the close of the war and the non-materialization of Wilson's beautiful principles meant that the Chinese people were reconciled with its position; this, however, was a mistaken idea; the Chinese people were merely waiting and hoping for the fulfillment of promises it had received. Then, as time went on, ages, moves and prompts the Chinese people to wish that China's relations with all be established on the same principles as with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. But, then, this influence of the U. S. S. R. on the national liberative struggle of the Chinese people is within the scope of the inevitable historical laws; it is not the result of artificially warmed up feelings. And if our fault is our good policy, I take pride in confessing to our being guilty.

Must Abolish Unequal Treaties.

In his speech today, Mr. Mochizuki has recommended to China to act slowly; first he advises China to set her house in order. I regret to say that I cannot agree with the idea, which nowadays is quite a current one, namely: first, set your house in order, and then your national aspirations will be satisfied.

To set one's house in order is, of course, a good thing and a necessary thing, but how is one to do it if one is not the master or, rather, not the full and only master of one's own house? If China be left to herself, I am sure the Chinese people will establish the necessary order at home, an order which may eventually not be to the liking of all of us, but it will no doubt be such a kind of order as will be to the liking of the Chinese people themselves.

And this, as I believe everyone will agree with me, is the main point. Therein lies the essential defect of a widespread estimation of the present situation. First, the order, and then the question of unequal treaties. But there cannot be the order such as is desired as long as there exist the unequal treaties. Nor is any lasting and serious improvement in the situation possible until and unless some issue be found from that vicious circle.

China Must Struggle.

Together with Mr. Mochizuki, I am glad to recall the glorious and heroic struggle thru which went France, Italy, America. On their victorious banners, when the birth of those nations and states was dawning there shone the same beautiful words for which China is fighting today: Liberty, fraternity, equality! Take, for instance, the case of Italy or America; theirs was not an easy struggle, it was one that for years and decades claimed the greatest sacrifices and demanded the straining of all the forces.

Before the Chinese people, too, there lies a difficult path of struggle, unless all its lost rights and privileges be returned to it willingly, on our model. I am far from the slightest intention of instigating anyone; my idea is drawn from the examples history gives us of the formation of the great nations of the world and is based on an analysis of the moving historical forces as they are developing here in China. In no other way can one escape from that vicious circle of which I spoke than either thru a protracted struggle for the rights lost or by their free surrender.

"Don't Throw Cold Water."

Mr. Mochizuki further said today to his Chinese friends: Stop those acts of violence, let, there be no violence! Well, of course, there must be no acts of violence, but it seems to me that it is reasonable to make this appeal to both sides which are presently at issue.

To conclude my speech, I may venture to draw an example from the medical life. When an alien body, an infection, gets into a live organism, the temperature of that organism rises; this is due only to the reaction of all the sound forces of the organism, its self-defense against infection.

In itself, a rise of temperature, being but the result of infection, may in many cases play a useful part. And the physician who would center all his attention on the high temperature, forgetting all about the causes, would be but a poor physician indeed. By mistaking the effect for the cause he might occasion the patient's death. To fight down the fever alone, while neglecting the infection, is to invite a new paroxysm of infection with still higher temperature.

Fever naturally exhausts the organism and is a source of anxiety to those concerned. Nevertheless, it would be irrational to seek to bring down the temperature by covering the patient with ice, for, without destroying the infection, we might kill the organism. In other words, one cannot cure a sickness unless one is quite clear as to its causes. The events in China are most complex; still, this should not make us mix up the causes and effects or forget that we won't help matters by pouring cold water on an inflamed organism.

Chinese Will Win in Liberation.

I do not know what the issue will be out of the present situation in China and I feel certain that there is no one who does know it at the actual moment. But I do hope and I am convinced that the aspirations of the Chinese people for national liberation and equality in relationship with all the world are on their way to infallible realization.

Whatever the way, whether it be by following the example of Italy, America or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or again, any new ways to be found by the Chinese people themselves—I am confident that the day is not far off when China will establish really good and friendly relations with all the countries of the world on a basis of true equality and justice. This is my warmest wish.

Put a copy of the DAILY WORKER in your pocket when you go to your union meeting.

Soviet Trade Union Delegation in China

From left to right, top: Smurgis, Lepse. Bottom: Briskin.

An Un-Leninist Analysis of Imperialism

By Bertram D. Wolfe

(Critique of Gomez's Article, "Labor and Empire," in the July Workers Monthly.)

THE article, "Labor and Empire," written by Manuel Gomez in the Anti-Imperialist (July, 1925) Number of the WORKERS MONTHLY, purports to contain a theoretical analysis of the historic background of imperialism, its economics and its political implications for the working class of the imperialist nations, and for the exploited or subject peoples. The article in question is replete with errors of un-Marxian and un-Leninist nature; in fact, all of its basic theoretical propositions are partly or wholly incorrect.

This is all the graver because the magazine in which it appears is a Communist (and hence Marxist-Leninist) organ; because its author is the secretary of the American section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League and, as such, his words carry more weight and responsibility than would those of an individual of lesser official importance or activity; and finally, because it is the only article that seeks to make a general analysis of the theoretical basis of imperialism in the anti-imperialist number of a would-be Marxist-Leninist organ and therefore its errors cannot be left uncorrected. Nor would a mere "correct" analysis in the August issue, without reference to the article of Gomez, be adequate, as that would leave undisturbed the errors already absorbed in the minds of many readers. Moreover, that is not the way that a Comunist organ corrects the errors committed in one of its articles.

So much by way of explanation. Now to an analysis of the more important errors, not in the order of their importance, but rather in the order of their statement in the article.

"Historic Background of Imperialism."

Under this heading the article begins with the remarkable statement: "American workers might have already thrown off the whole system of wage slavery if it were not for the appearance of imperialism." Such speculations are un-Marxist and futile. Marx showed that capitalism leads thru accumulation to concentration and centralization of capital. This leads inevitably to monopoly capitalism, which is the primary economic basis of imperialism. Thus Comrade Gomez's "if" partakes of scholastic medieval speculation and not of Marxism. Moreover, there is no justification for the conclusion, even allowing the premises. Countries that have not developed monopolistic finance capitalism are "backward countries." On what ground does Comrade Gomez assume that non-imperialist backward countries imply a victory of the proletariat? Moreover, America, more than any other advanced country, still has, or has had until recently, an expanding home market—but to go further would be to lose one's self in the very maze of scholastic speculation that Comrade Gomez's "if" hypothesis implies.

"The Peaceful Period of Capitalism."

This is Leninist phraseology, but Comrade Gomez gets his dates, or rather, his periods, mixed. The "peaceful period of capitalism" in the United States Gomez dates from 1894 to the world war. This, he adds, is an international phenomenon. In another part of the article he even speaks of the "peaceful period of imperialism (!)"

The truth of this "historical" matter is that the peaceful period of capitalism ends precisely where imperialism begins. By the "peaceful" period is meant that period roughly included in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century when the first wars for capitalist unity were generally at an end (the so-called national wars) and when capitalism was based on the production of consumption commodities as its typical industry, and when liberalism, "free trade and Jeremy Bentham" prevailed in economic practice and political theory in the most advanced countries. The classic land of the peaceful free trade, free competition and non-state-intervention period was England. The classic industry textiles. The climax of this period is roughly from 1840 to 1880.

It was a peaceful period because the "struggle for markets" with textile products as the typical export, does not require spheres of influence, colonies, the intervention of states and armies, etc., but merely quantity production, cheapness and good salesmanship. To sell red flannel underwear to equatorial savages, it is not necessary to own the country, to bribe its government, to subsidize a revolution or to pry a colony loose from its mother country by war. A German firm can sell red flannel underwear to naked savages in Madagascar (French colony) if it sends missionaries to convince them of the iniquity of going naked, sends cheaper, brighter-colored underwear and good patient salesmen willing to learn the language and the peculiarities of the natives. As long as free competition continues and "light" or consumption industries such as textiles continue to be the basic ones, there is no great need of colonies, spheres of influence, etc.

"Colonies," says the imperialistically-minded Disraeli in 1852, "are just millstones around our necks." From 1840 to 1860 and even later bourgeois politicians of the liberal school were in the saddle and opposed any colonial aggressiveness on the part of England itself, the characteristic colonizing country.

But the last quarter of the nineteenth century is characterized by the change from "light" to "heavy" basic industries—that is to say, from textiles to metallurgy. Also monopoly begins and finally the export of capital itself.

The export of metal products implies the export of capital. It also implies colonies, spheres of influence, control of the governments of backward nations, subsidized revolutions and colonial wars.

A typical form of exported "metal product" is a railway. A railway cannot be sold to an equatorial savage by a salesman and a missionary. It can only be "sold" to a backward country thru political influence or control of that country's government. A railroad, to begin with, runs at a financial loss on the basis of its net returns, above all in a country backward industrially. To make it profitable, the government of the backward country must (1) grant a concession of the right of way (2) an exclusive monopoly to that right of way, eliminating parallel lines as a possibility; and (3) subsidize the venture with land or money grants or grants of natural resources. Finally, it is superfluous to point out that the exporting of the "metal product" called a railway implies the export (investment) of capital as well.

Thus begins the scramble for concessions and spheres of influence, for colonies and protectorates, for governments "friendly to foreigners" and governments friendly exclusively to American or British or German or French capital, and all the other sources of imperialist wars and onslaughts of imperialist nations on backward ones and on each other.

This, the warlike period of capitalism, is the imperialist period, and begins with the beginning of monopoly capitalism, and export of capital. In other words, the warlike period of capitalism, in the Leninist sense, begins when Gomez says the peaceful period of capitalism begins. Any one who fails to take into account this fundamental difference between the textiles and metallurgy, between the export of underwear and the export of metals and dollars, cannot grasp the first essentials of imperialism and the imperialist epoch.

Moreover, it is a contamination with bourgeois pacifist "Hague conference" illusions on the one hand, and with the psychology instilled by imperialist apologists on the other, to believe that the period preceding 1914 (roughly from 1890 to 1914) was a peaceful period. The Hague conferences were only the plaster on the ulcer. The armament race was on, the world war was brooding. It almost broke out in 1905 and again in 1911.

And the so-called "minor" wars, as imperialist apologists would call them, do they count for nothing because they were waged against black and yellow men and not between whites? Naturally, the weak nations were attacked first, but robber imperialism is no less warlike because its victories were easier. Germany, in 1885, seized German East Africa, in 1897 German Southwest Africa, New Guinea, Kamerun and Samoa. In 1899, Kaiu-Chau.

France in 1885 ocupied the Congo, in 1895 appropriated Madagascar, in 1904 Morocco (cause of the crisis of 1905 which was of world-war magnitude), in 1913 Syria. America in the same period took Hawaii, while Japan seized Formosa.

If that is not enough evidence of a warlike period for Gomez (and it might be multiplied) how about the Spanish-American war of 1898 for Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and the control of the Carribean? How about the English-Boer war? The Boxer war of the combined powers against China? The Russo-Japanese war for spheres of influence in Manchuria, Korea and China? The Italo-Turkish war for the possession of Tripoli in 1912? The Algerian Crisis, etc.?

The period of imperialism is the warlike period of capitalism. A failure to grasp this makes the world war a phenomenon without precedent causes, and makes the wars against yellow and brown and black-skinned races no wars at all (or "peaceful" wars). In other words, it is an unconscious reflection of pacifist illusion and imperialist apologetics.

Gomez, in his "historical background" takes the strikes of 1870 to 1894 in the United States as an evidence that up till 1894 there was a warlike period and after 1894 a peaceful period. This, of course, has nothing to do with Leninist analysis of imperialism although Lenin is dragged in and quoted. The strike epidemic in question was due to the world commercial crisis of the period. The relative "class peace" period that followed 1894 (very relative indeed) was caused by the expansion due to monopoly growth and other factors, and was broken by repeated strike crises of great magnitude. But, I repeat, it is not this kind of "peace" to which the Lenin quotation on "peaceful period" refers.

The Gomez confusion in the article goes so far as to say that "It (the peaceful period when strikes lessened in scope, number and intensity), was purchased at the expense of the backward and undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thru the policy of imperialism." (!) But enough of the "historic background."

"Superprofits."

The second part of the article deals with the economic basis of capitalism, under the heading of "Super-profits." Here the errors are even graver and in much more elementary things. Marxian economics is turned inside out and upside down.

By "super-profits" Gomez means profits in excess of the average rate of profit. He points out that imperialism yields such excess profits or "super-profits."

This is essentially correct, and very important. The understanding of the economics of this profit in excess of the average rate, that is yielded by imperialism, is the understanding of the economics of the exploitation of the oppressed peoples. This makes it all the more unfortunate that Gomez's analysis is incomplete, incorrect and anti-Marxian.

The first source of "super-profit" according to Gomez "results from THE GREATLY INCREASED RATE OF EXPLOITATION AS REFLECTED IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE CAPITAL EMPLOYED, WHICH, IN BACKWARD COUNTRIES, SHOWS A MUCH GREATER PROPORTION OF VARIABLE CAPITAL TO CONSTANT." (Emphasis mine.)

This is, of course, economic nonsense. The rate of exploitation has nothing to do with the composition of capital, altho vulgar economy at times tries to calculate the rate of exploitation on the total capital invested. The rate of exploitation is the proportion of the unpaid labor to the paid labor performed by a worker. The proportion of capital invested as constant or variable capital does not enter into its calculation.

The essence of imperialist exploitation is found in the use of a cheap and docile labor supply, a low living standard among the backward people, inhumanly long hours, inhumanly low wages, dispossessing of the backward peoples from the land, and forced labor. All of these, which form the essence of imperialist exploitation, make it the brutal thing it is and explain the revolt of China, Morocco, etc., from the imperialist yoke, are not mentioned in the four enumerated points. Some of the other points are incorrectly stated, and other important factors are omitted, but this article will be prolonged unduly if I analyze the economic section of Gomez's article any further.

"Workers, Subject Peoples and the Revolution."

Passing over other errors of a minor nature, I jump to the end of the article. The last section is called "Workers, Subject Peoples, and the Revolution." The questions here considered are of a tactical, political nature and therefore vital for the action and "practical conclusions" for a Bolshevik party. Again there is lamentable confusion and even a false tactical position.

Gomez discusses, citing Bukharin (in his battle with Boris—the alliteration is mine) and drawing on Lenin, the corruption that is engendered in the labor movement by imperialism which is able to bribe leaders and even whole sections of the "aristocracy of labor" with some part of the enormous profits, and thus win them to class collaboration and support of imperialism. This is correct, as is the position of Gomez that this corruption must be fought and an effort must be made to win away the "aristocracy" of labor from class collaboration. But the vagueness of the passage and the failure to draw a distinction between corrupted leaders and labor aristocracy leads to this lamentable sentence in which the two are unconsciously merged and illusions fostered on the possibility of winning the corrupted leadership. Here is the sentence:

"While we fight to win the masses away from the leadership of these corrupted elements, we must endeavor to break the LATTER away from the bosses and draw them more and more into the struggle. It is in unceasing struggle that the hope of the working class lies."

Of course, it is possible that Gomez meant to write "former" in place of "latter," but even if that is so, the cerrection must be made. Moreover, the passage in question sins terribly by omission as well as by what is stated. The masses must be broken away, not only nor directly from the bosses, but precisely from these corrupted leaders. This is a fundamental error in trade union policy—the omission of the necessity of struggle against this corrupted leadership. Lenin advocated it all his life, and precisely because he comprehended that they were bought by a share of imperialist profits and were objectively, to use a Deleonite phrase, quoted by Lenin, "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." If Gomez actually meant what the words appear to say, the passage is even worse for it implies that the corrupted leaders as a class can be won to fight against the bosses, thus fostering an illusion in them. If we demand that they break with the bosses, it is not with the hope of winning them, but as a means of exposing them and annihilating them utterly.

Follows a return to the economic theory in the sentence: "By the export of capital, the capitalists have unwittingly helped to build up a native industry in the subject countries with its own. . . bourgeoisie. . ." This is of course, incorrect. The export of capital, neither wittingly nor

(Continued on page 7)

A Reply to Wolfe's Uncritical "Critique"

By Manuel Gomez

ACCORDING to Comrade Wolfe, my article on Labor and Empire in the July number of the Workers' Monthly is replete with errors. Inasmuch as there was no polemical discussion under way at the time he might, of course, have come upstairs and talked to me about it, and tried to convince me to correct my point of view in detail in the succeeding number of the magazine; but in that case he might have had no article to write—and besides, he would perhaps say, "This is not the way that a Communist organ (even a would-be Marxist-Leninist one) corrects the errors committed in one of its articles."

Comrade Wolfe rushes to the attack. To those who have not read my article, he seeks to give the impression that I am not only an ignoramus and an eclectic, but also a social-democratic apologist for imperialism, with secret leanings toward Hague conference pacifism. He does not scruple to make use of insinuation, deliberate misquotation, and falsification of facts. For these reckless epithets, my article itself is sufficient refutation, representing as it does an attempt to arouse American workers to the necessity of active alliance with the exploited peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies for the overthrow of American imperialism.

IT is with the doctrinal inadequacies of Comrade Wolfe's criticism that I shall deal here.

At the outset I want to say that I should have been sincerely glad of a better if less pompous and pretentious criticism of my article. The article was, in a sense, pioneer work in a new field; it was, so far as I know, the first attempt to give the Leninist conception of imperialism a wider practical application in the American class struggle by showing the effects of imperialism upon the American working class as well as on the subject peoples. For the first time a detailed explanation of the mechanics of super-profit in the American empire was essayed, together with the mechanics of the relationship between the super-profit reaped by the capitalists and the poisonous "class collaboration" policy in American trade unions. I also pointed out the sinister connection between super-profit and the role of the American socialist party. Many of these things had been dealt with before, some of them in much greater detail, but nowhere had they been brot into direct juxtaposition in an article on imperialism. This I conceive to be one of the most important tasks of our party in the struggle against imperialism. We do not direct our articles on imperialism written in English to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, but to the American working class. And it is essential not only to make the American workers realize that American imperialism exists, by printing long lists of statistics (altho this also is of vital importance), but to make them realize how imperialism bears they must fight it. I do not claim any basic originality for my article. It is simply an adaption of the theses on national and colonial questions adopted at the second congress of the Communist International. I have drawn freely for material upon widely-known writings of Lenin, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Stalin, and Pavlovitch. Practically all of the information on "class collaboration" is taken from the little pamphlet by Comrade Browder, which is undoubtedly the meat authoritative work in its special field. Yet the article was in many respects pioneering. Better articles on the same subject will certainly be written, but in its fundamental propositions the article is correct as it stands.

AND here I encounter Comrade Wolfe, who declares that all of my basic propositions are incorrect.

What are these propositions? I have set them down plainly in my article, the first six of them tabulated, with numerals precisely as all of them are tabulated here:

(1.) That by intense exploitation of subject peoples under the conditions of imperialism, the capitalist derive a super-profit which becomes the mainspring of imperialist relationships.

(2.) That as a result of this the capitalists are able to continue the system of wage slavery in the home countries of imperialism.

(3.) That imperialism thus becomes a burden not only upon the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, but upon the workers in the developed countries as well, whose conditions moreover becomes worse and worse as the race for super-profit becomes hotter.

(4.) That the American workers are therefore obliged to struggle energetically to retain even their hard-won gains of the past.

(5.) That a section of the working class, including the trade union bureaucracy and the privileged workers, refuses to take part in the struggle and actually betrays it, having been won over to the bourgeoisie thru a share in the super-profits.

(6.) That, sharing directly in the spoils of empire, these corrupted labor elements have a vested interest in imperialist expansion and become conscious or unconscious accomplices in the enslavement of subject peoples.

(7.) That super-profits are also the basis for social-democratic pacifism, whose appeal is made to the aristocracy of labor.

(8.) That, unlike the socialists, the Communists do not base their policies on a privileged group but on the needs of the broad masses, which require unceasing struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialism.

(9.) That, while the reactionary officialdom of the trade unions (the bureaucracy) are cynical traitors to the working class and must be gotten rid of, some sections of the labor aristocracy as such (the better-paid, highly skilled workers) can and must be won away from collaboration with the bosses to fight for their own ultimate class interests side by side with the rest of the workers.

(10.) That the theory of super-profits is thus a strong weapon in our hands against the labor bureaucracy and the socialists, and against the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie, an instrument which enables us to establish a connection between the industrial proletariat in this country and the national liberation movements in the countries under the heel of American imperialism.

(11.) That the American workers must take the lead in establishing a fighting alliance with the peoples of America's colonies and semi-colonies.

THESE are the propositions that Comrade Wolfe says are incorrect. He does not prove they are incorrect. He scarcely deals with them at all. Instead, he restates them to suit himself, and then proceeds to give me an elementary school lecture on the A. B. C. of imperialism, the development of monopoly, the transition from the era of the hegemony of the textile industry to the era of the iron and steel industry, the difference between selling railroads and flannel underwear, etc. If my critic did any research work to get this material he might have saved himself the trouble by consulting one of my own articles, entitled, "Lenin and the New Wave of Marxism," which appeared in the March number of the Workers' Monthly, this year. Comrade Wolfe's criticism shows that he does not even perceive what the basic propositions of my article on Labor and Empire are, notwithstanding the fact that they are clearly stated and enumerated. One might read his article thru without having the slightest conception of what I had been writing about. The truth is that he, and the group in our party which he represents, are not deeply interested in the problem of getting the American masses into motion against imperialism but rather in academic generalizations separating theory from action.

THE foregoing paragraphs sum up my article on Labor and Empire and give an idea of the persistent wrong-headedness of Wolfe's attitude toward it. They do not touch upon the specific points that he tries to make. I shall now take these up one by one, answering them not only in my own words, but by quotations from official documents and recognized leaders of the Comintern.

The analysis begins by ridiculing my statement that the American workers might have already thrown off the whole system of wage-slavery if it were not for the appearance of imperialism.

"Such speculations," says Wolfe, "are un-Marxist and futile. Marx showed that capitalism leads thru accumulation to concentration and centralization of capital. This leads inevitably to monopoly capitalism which is the primary economic basis of imperialism. Thus Comrade Gomez's "if" partakes of scholastic medieval speculation and not of Marxism. On what ground does Comrade Gomez assume that non-imperialist background countries imply a victory of the proletariat?"

WOLFE ought to know that I do not assume non-imperialist backward countries imply a victory of the proletariat—altho in the present, imperialist epoch, the overthrow of capitalism in even a "backward" country would be such a victory, and if Wolfe does not understand this his conception has nothing in common with Leninist theory. What I was concerned with was to show how capitalist rule was prolonged thru imperialism, this historical example serving as an introduction to the proposition that imperialism is the backbone of wage slavery today. Whether or not my use of hypothesis was un-Marxian and un-Leninist, I leave for the reader to judge after comparing it with the following sentence from the theses on the national and colonial questions at the second congress of the Comintern, presented by Comrade Lenin himself:

"But for the extensive colonial possessions acquired for the sale of her surplus products and as a source of raw materials for her ever-growing industries, the capitalistic structure of England would have been crushed under its own weight long ago."

Will Comrade Wolfe have the temerity to say that the "but" in this sentence "partakes of scholastic medieval speculation and not of Marxism?"

MY critic will no doubt reply that the conditions in England were quite different from those in the United States, but that does not alter the question of the allowability of hypothesis. Moreover, Comrade Wolfe does not give my original statement intact. In my article I did not speak of the United States alone, but of England, France and the other capitalistic countries of Europe (in much the same form as the above quotation from Lenin's theses), at the same time drawing in America which as part of a world system could not help but be profoundly influenced by the general development.

Now as to the "peaceful period of capitalism," about which Comrade Wolfe gets very much excited—so much so that he repeatedly misquotes me.

This is the main section of Wolfe's "analysis" and it shows him at his worst. There is in it not a trace of understanding of the development of imperialism in its relation to class war, nor any more than the most superficial conception of Lenin's method of considering it.

BEFORE touching upon my critic's misconceptions, however, I am obliged to clear away some false impressions that he endeavors to create about my article. In the first place, it is untrue that I said or intimated that imperialism is not war-like; such an intimation would be ridiculous, and is the exact opposite of the point of view expressed in my article. Wolfe quotes me as having used the term "peaceful period of imperialism" and he places an exclamation point after the misquotation. No such phrase appears anywhere in my article. What I did say was: "The climax of the struggle to obtan super-profits is thus far different from the period of 'peaceful development' which characterized its earlier stages." A peaceful period in the struggle to obtain super-profits is something quite different from a "peaceful period of imperialism," as the reader will see further on. But where Wolfe has played me most foul is in the important matter of dates; by taking two statements of mine out of their context and placing them in unnatural association, he arrives at the following monstrous distortion:

"The 'peaceful period of capitalism' in the United States, Gomez dates from 1894 to the world war. This, he adds, is an international phenomenon."

AND this, when I expressly stated that early period of storm and stress of European capitalism culminated around 1871, adding that this development in the United States came "later and in a necessarily modified form." Farther along in the same paragraph I remarked that "the so-called peaceful period of capitalism", (which everywhere followed the period of storm and stress) "was an international phenomenon."

To anyone reading the paragraph without deliberate perverseness of intent, the meaning is quite clear. No one who has seen any of my articles on imperialism—Wolfe least of all—could honestly believe that I date the so-called "peaceful period" of world capitalism from 1894 to the world war.

But I must admit that I cannot agree with Comrade Wolfe's dates. "By the 'peaceful period,'" he says, "is meant that period roughly included in the second and third quarters of the 19th century when the first wars for capitalist national unity were generally at an end (the so-called national wars) . . ."

In the second and third quarters of the 19th century occurred the revolutionary uprisings of 1830-31, 1848-50, 1863 and 1871, and that wars of 1854-55, 1859, 1864, 1866 and 1870. The period between 1848 and 1871 brot into being modern Italy, Hungary, and Germany. Incidentally, the years 1868-71 marked the peak of the activity of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International), which could hardly be said to reflect a peaceful epoch of capitalism.

THE second and third quarters of the 19th century—the middle years of the century, that is—are revolutionary and not "peaceful." They are so characterized by Comrade Bukharin, who points out that a new period did not set in until later. In his report on the Question for a Program for the Communist International, delivered at the fourth congress of the C. I. (November 18, 1922), he says:

"Following the revolutionary epoch of the middle of last century, an entirely different historic epoch in the development of the capitalist system set in. It was the epoch of the gigantic growth of capitalism. This growth was chiefly based upon the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie and the stupendous development of continental industry which was chiefly stimulated by the exploitation of the colonial peoples. This created a certain community of interests between the continental bourgeoisie and the continental proletariat which was the basis for a great psychological and ideological tendency manifesting itself within the working class and, ergo, within the socialist parties."

Comrade Zinoviev, in his great work on "The War and the Crisis of Socialism," declares that "the year 1871 marks the close of the national wars for western and central Europe" (German edition, page 33) and this happens also to be the date I assigned in my article to the end of the first period of storm and stress.

IF I had more space at my disposal I could show how Wolfe's confu-

(Continued on page 6)

RUSSIA TODAY: Official Report of British Trade

(Continued from Yesterday's Daily Worker)

SYNOPSIS.—The official report of the British trade union delegation to Soviet Russia described the workings of foreign trade, transportation, industry, finance and agriculture in the Soviet Union. The trade union leaders concluded that foreign trade is increasing, and that in agriculture and industry the level of production is being raised. The finances have been placed on a sound basis, the report showed. Harm is being done to England by the absence of full diplomatic relations, the union leaders stated. Schools and universities, and literature, music and opera and the theatre were then discussed. Art collections, censorship, newspapers, wall newspapers, and freedom of the press were explained, with the conclusion that "the results of education are astounding." The report then took up hospitals, welfare work, sanitation, birth control, abortion, cleanliness and housing, rent regulations, family life, and prisons. "The Soviet government is achieving most remarkable results in respect to public health, housing, and the prison system," says the report. Regarding the trade unions and labor conditions, the report states, "The Delegation were much impressed by the position and activities of Trade Unions under the Soviet system."

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As to the Govrenment's attitude towards the problem, an interesting light is thrown by the last report to the Congress of Trade Unions (page 255): "In the conditions of economic organization established here and in view of the concentration of the fundamental industries in the hands of the Government, public works are not a sound system for dealing with unemployment. Efforts should rather be directed to the extension of industry."

Unemployment caused an outcrop of small informal Co-operative Craft Societies (artel). Many of these enterprises, such as the very common one of a bakers' artel, were broken up by the Trade Unions. Others again, such as those of tailors and tanners, made good. Of the 73 tailor artels started, most were successful, and some have been taken in to the national industrial organizations. On the whole, however, such artels, when managed solely by the unemployed, failed; and only succeeded when advised and assisted by the Labor Exchanges and the unions. About 5 per cent of the unemployed have found relief in this manner.

Owing to the financial failure of the contributory system of social insurance, it has been very difficult to keep the unemployed in benefit, and only 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. are in regular receipt of this relief.

Unemployment has caused some official inclination towards restricting overtime, but this has found no encouragement from the unions, and overtime is anyhow on the decrease. The average day worked in factories divides out at seven to nine hours, but this does not take into acount the six to seven hours to which dangerous trades are restricted, the five hours of those receiving special education, the time off allowed for public duties, the four to six hours of young persons, and the seven hours night shift. The average overtime per month of a worker (other than transport and Don coal) fell from 29.6 hours in 1922 to 25.1 in 1923, and for railway workers from 52 to 22.

That the causes of unemployment in Russia are of a different character from those creating it elsewhere is evident from that fact that the increase of unemployment has been accompanied by an increase of employment. If the total of unemployment is equivalent to a fifth of the industrial population, the total of employed workers is increased by a fifth between August 1st, 1923, and August 1st, 1924. That is to say, the development of industry would have provided employment already for all were it not that a large proportion of the unemployed are unemployable under present conditions and that the improvement in wages and welfare of the town workers has drawn labor from the countryside.

Insurance

One of the first acts of the Revolution was an act for industrial insurance at the cost of the employers, but this was, of course, put an end to by War Communism; for under War Communism workers drew full wages whether the factory worked or not. The whole system was, indeed, based on the State supporting the population, and getting such service as it could in return. Expenditure in public relief and social insurance on a scale such as this soon reached an extravagance that was ruining the State, while the individual was not receiving as much as under the old system. "A noble inspiration, but quite hopeless," is the epitaph pronounced on this policy by a publication of the Commissariat of Social Welfare (Miliutine, 1921).

The New Economic Policy restored social insurance on the usual lines arranged to suit the new needs of time and place. The system at present is:—

(a) Voluntary rural relief committees, with power to raise a rate. (The State does not contribute, though to some extent controls.)
(b) Compulsory contributory insurance for all wage-earners.
(c) State relief for the remainder, together with pensions.

Social Insurance

The system of social insurance will be found in the Labor Code. It covers the usual benefits, including grants, on birth and death, and for "notable service in the Revolution." (For details see Visit to Moscow Insurance Department, page 203.)

The minimum unemployment benefit is one-sixth of the average wage, the normal being one-third, and its maximum period must not be less than six months. Unemployment relief includes the free use of public services, lighting, heating, water, meals at half cost, one month's rent, and no taxes.

It was intended that the scheme should be financed by contributions from enterprises and employers on scales officially assessed, but these contributions were soon, and still are, hopelessly in arrears. In 1922 only about one-third was paid, and this involved a corresponding reduction of benefits. In 1922 the rate of contributions was reduced from 16 per cent. to 14 per cent. of the sum total of wages, and in 1924 80 per cent. of the contributions on this reduced scale were coming in. The benefits were then improved, in some cases up to par. But even now insurance contributions are still on the whole heavily in arrears, the private enterprises paying best, the Co-operative and leased business next, and the State undertakings least; the latter owing in December, 1924, as much as over two millions. So this sick benefit fund and the medical benefit fund have been in difficulties and borrowing from the other funds, and on an average unemployment benefit is still only 60 per cent of the minimum budget, which is itself 50 per cent. below average real wages. Sick benefit has lately been raised to 100 per cent. of wages, but chronic invalids only get half-benefits. Malingering is much complained of. The total number of insured workers was in 1923 5,250,000, and in 1924 over 5,500,000, organized under 870 funds. Fund Committees are elected by conferences of factory delegates.

The Central Insurance Department controls 6,200 beds and numerous sanatoria, which in 1923 took in 30,000 cases. One of the best features of social welfare in Russia is that of the rest houses, or hotels for workers' holidays. Over 85,000 were so accommodated by the Central Committee in 1923, and the provincial committees have their own as well. Collective agreements now in many cases require the employer, as in Germany, to provide such holiday homes. The Trade Unions have their own unemployment insurance, with very varying rates and regulations.

Labor Inspection

The most unusual feature in Russian labor inspection is the staff of inspectors appointed by the Inter-Trade Union Councils, who work in connection with the Communist "nuclei" for the education of the worker. Besides these elected inspectors, there are technical inspectors and sanitary inspectors, appointed as elsewhere, by the Administration. It seems likely that the "elected" inspectors will in time be replaced by officials, as has already been the case with the inspectors for the protection of children at first organized by the Young Communists. But as yet the more important work is done by the Trade Union inspectors.

The number of elected inspectors was so high at one time as to suggest that their functions were political as well as industrial. This impression is strengthened by the large proportion of Communists and of workers, the former as high as 77.8 per cent. in 1919, and the latter 75 per cent. But during 1922 the number has been reduced from 1,150 to 808, and higher qualifications required; while the proportion of Communists fell to 63.3 per cent. and non-partisans rose from 11 per cent. to 34.8 per cent. Of the technical inspectors 70 per cent. have a higher technical education and considerable experience.

The results of this inspection were 6.3 prosecutions per 100 inspections in the last quarter of 1923 in Government factories, 6.5 in Co-operatives, and 42.3 in private. These figures suggest that inspection has concerned itself so far more particularly with private enterprises. During the same period they investigated 171,095 offenses as to overtime and 3,018 as to under age. The demands of the technical inspector as to improvements and so forth were carried out in proportion of 67 per cent. But their reports show that on the technical side the equipment for safeguarding machinery leaves much to be desired. From a sanitary point of view, energetic education of the workers has produced a remarkable improvement.

General Conclusion

The Delegation find that labor regulation in the U. S. S. R. is a practical compromise presenting features that are interesting and instructive. Evils, such as unemployment, strikes, etc., though they exist in Russia, are not there, as elsewhere, essential to the system of employment.

CHAPTER III

Wages

Wages Under Communism

As the nationalization of industry developed, wages came to be regulated by decree at first through the Commissariat of Labor, then under decree of June 8th, 1920, through the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. At this period, the height of Communism, the Trade Union organization was an Executive Department of the Government. The wage scales were fixed without regard to the value of the labor, and were paid up to 80 per cent. in kind. The money was paid by the industry; food, clothing, and so forth by the government department; housing, fuel, and so forth by the municipal department; and as these could only pay when they had supplies the real rate of wages was never realized. The food ration was regulated for heavy workers, light workers, and non-workers in the proportion of 4 : 3 : 2, though the latter for the most part got nothing. There were also attempts to reward extra exertion with extra rations; but these were discouraged. And supplies being deficient, these wages, or rather rations, were always irregular and

"Who Is Who" in British Del

HERBERT SMITH, years president Yorks deration. President, tion of Great Britain president, 1907. Ser royal commissions. national Miners' Com of school board, West county council and oth for many years. Mem ary committee, trades 1913-16, and general Appointed J. P. in 191 tral committee, mine central committee, mi board.

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BEN TILLETT, of trade unions since of Dockers' Union, from the Tea Coope Laborers' Union esta A pioneer of trade u nationally. Contested mentary elections. El Remained dockers' g until amalgamation t General Workers' Uni ary of Political and I partment of Amalg Member of trades uni eral council since 19 parliamentary com union congress, 1892-0

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JOHN TURNER, socialist organizations timate with founders socialist thought, su Morris, Belfort Bax, neers. Closely associ Kropotkin from 1886 to Russia in 1917. A hours legislation and Assistants' Union. union from 1898 unt general secretary aft in this position until general council, trade 1921; re-elected by co to 1924 for period to

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JOHN BROMLEY, of railway trade uni many positions of tr pointment as branch sociated Society of L eers and Fireman, 1 ganizing secretary of Secretary also of co Elected general secre 1914. Elected membe executive, 1920 and member of trades uni eral council, 1922-24. bor party delegation t times candidate for 1924. Prominently as bor and socialist prop years.

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ALAN A. H. FIND United Patternmake since 1893. Branch other offices. Electe eral secretary, execu 1913. Elected genera Formerly treasurer, Shipbuilding Trades three years, subseq president, at presen position. Elected to gress general council each year until 1924, September, 1925.

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A. A. PURCEL gation). Member Union since 1891 mocratic federation ber, Salford Borough years. Sectional s quently organizer, f Parliamentary candi ford, 1910. Contested 24. Elected 1923. S tor in co-operative ar Elected to general union congress, 1919 year. Elected by tra tional conference, president. President union congress. Vic eral council. Appoi American labor conv companied the deleg 1920.

Union Delegation

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generally inadequate. Therefore, like soldiers whose rations are insufficient, the Russian industrial workers deserted and fled from the towns to the villages where food could be got. This again led to conscription of labor in 1920 under rigorous conditions. Its results were entirely unsatisfactory, and it was finally repealed by decree of the Central Executive Committee of March 3rd, 1922.

The Fifth Congress of Trade Unions in September, 1922, recommended that wages be paid in money. This change was forced not only by material but by moral conditions. The Communists could enforce a very high level of discipline and devotion in their own ranks, but they could not bring conscripted labor into line as a body. They could not even stop the non-party and un-political workers from putting money in their pockets by filching immense quantities of goods and by falsifying their ration cards. For example, by 1921, though the urban population amounted only to 12,000,000, 22,000,000 were drawing rations.

But with the New Economic Policy wages, which had become little more than the pay of a rationed labor army, became again the subject of free contract, of Trade Union negotiation, and of Governmental regulation. And with currency stabilization, wages in kind, already steadily in decline, began definitely to disappear. In so far as they still exist, their value is deducted from the money rate at current open-market prices.

The optimistic theory of War Communism that a worker would for an equal living wage give his full energy, experience and efficiency to the public good, was not justified by the experience of the years, 1918-1921. It has now given place to the plan of paying a living wage and getting the best possible production by further awards, such as piecework payment, special rates for specialists and prospects of promotion. This plan is applied even by the Communist International to those employes who, not being members of the Party, cannot be relied on to do their best without pecuniary recognition. It is now proposed to extend the system to employes in State trading and Co-operative concerns so that by paying them a percentage on their sales, their efficiency may be raised to that of the salesmen in private trade. At present in retail trade, the private tradesman, the State and the Co-operative salesman are estimated to compare in efficiency as 118:92:89.

Wages During the Change to Money Payments.—During the time when the currency was daily falling in value, food rations held a large place in wages and money wages were reckoned in "goods" roubles on a system much like that which developed under similar conditions in Germany. At first certain industries calculated wages in terms of the rising cost of their own product; for example, in terms of a "flour rouble," a "leather rouble," etc. But this caused almost as great inequalities and inequities as the previous War Communist practice of allowing payments to workers in the goods they produced. These methods of payment were accordingly converted into general payment in "goods roubles." A minimum budget, representing the daily needs of an average worker was drawn up; the cost of this budget was determined, eventually, as often as four times a month; and the value of the "real" or "goods" rouble was calculated accordingly. The result was a living wage, though a very low one. For the cost was often, as in the Don Basin, fixed much lower than it really was so as to help industry back towards a paying basis.

Money Payments.—In May, 1923, wage rates began to be fixed as a percentage of the total minimum budget. But as soon as there was a stable gold currency (Tchervonetz) this system too began to go; and an order of the Supreme Economic Council, September 13th, 1923, brought in payment of government salaries in gold roubles. It was, however, thought that to pay all workers wages at once in gold roubles would unduly burden industry and unbalance the gold rouble. Such gold payment was, therefore, brought in gradually and first made applicable to transport workers, metal workers, chemical workers, the Don Basin and the Urals. With the exception of the Urals, there was, however, in the winter of 1923-24, a fall of the real value of the gold rouble to 80 per cent. on an average, explained elsewhere (See Currency) which called for additional bonuses. But with the spring, this last crisis, caused by the collapse of the old paper rouble, was over, and it was decided to give up the complicated calculation in goods roubles and get on as quickly as possible with payments in gold roubles, which had by then gained general confidence. There were, however, great difficulties of detail in carrying this out. One was the want for a time of new currency of small denominations; which caused losses to the workers. This was first dealt with by temporary paper issues and then by the new metal silver and copper currency.

The want of working capital in industry still causes delays in payment, but these matter much less now that the currency is stabilized and arrears do not lose their value. They are, however, the main cause of discontent at present. Last autumn arrears were about 10 million g. r., but last winter they were reduced to about 3 million. The delays seem generally to be only a week or so, though there were cases in the Don Basin of September wages not paid until November. Complaints were also made to the last Congress that too large a proportion of the wages was paid in credits for goods in the Co-operatives.

Present and Pre-War Wages Compared.—It is almost impossible to compare wages under War Communism with pre-war wages or with wages at the present time. But since the return to money wages under free contract there has been a steady rise amounting from 150 per cent. to 200 per cent., and a steep rise between October, 1922, and September, 1923, amounting to as much as 70 per cent. The average wage in 1922 in the heavy industries was still in money little more than half the pre-war wage, though this was exceeded in some cases.

The general average of wages seems now to be approaching three-quarters of pre-war rates, being over half pre-war in the heavy and nearly full pre-war in the light industries. In May, 1924, the percentages were: all industries, 68,3 per cent.; food, 116.9 per cent.; paper, 103.5 per cent.; printing, 98 per cent.; leather, 96 per cent.; textile, 85 per cent.; chemical, 82 per cent.; mining, 52.1 per cent.; railways, 41 per cent.; metal workers, 31.9 per cent. In October, 1924, metal workers had been raised to 56 per cent., railway workers to 50 per cent., and textile, to 91 per cent. Wages in Moscow generally are 93 per cent pre-war and in Leningrad 81.6 per cent. But figures can only be depended on in so far as they show a general movement. The A. R. C. T. U. now intends to raise wages in heavy industry and transport so as to reduce inequalities.

Inequalities of Wages.—This difference in the rate of wages between heavy and light industry is due to the much greater difficulty in restoring heavy industry to a business basis. It works exclusively to State order and was therefore more affected by the stress of the change to a business basis. On the other hand, the light industry producing largely goods of prime necessity could at once find its home market. While private business, picking out the most profitable enterprises without regard for the general public interest and with reduced overhead charges for national purposes, could pay the best wages of all. Thus during the early period of the New Economic Policy, wages in private industry were 25 per cent. higher than in nationalized industry.

There are also still considerable differences in wages between localities and between industries. These differences have caused great dissatisfaction and cases arose, as in Yaroslav, where the Provincial Trade Union Council illegally suspended a collective agreement on that account. This difficulty was dealt with by the State giving more orders to heavy industry and more working capital, so enabling it to raise the lowest rates. The total of this assistance given in 1923, reached 700,000,000 gold roubles.

Wage Scales and Categories.—The next difficulty which became serious in the latter part of 1923, was the "Scissors" crisis (See Agriculture). In order to close the "Scissors," wages had to be kept as they were or even be lowered. For these and other reasons a regulation of wages was undertaken by the Government. The wage scales as fixed by the Trade Unions were revised so as to reduce them generally and raise the lowest rates. The new official scale is as follows:—

	Unskilled labor.				Skilled labor.				
Categories	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Co-efficients	1.0	1.2	1.5	1.8	2.2	2.5	2.8	3.1	3.5
Experts—	Inferior.				Superior.				
Categories	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
Co-efficients	4.2	4.6	5.0	5.5	6.2	6.7	7.2	8.0	

The general application of this uniform scale is proceeding rapidly. In January, 1924, it was already applicable to 44 per cent. of the industrial workers, and 90 per cent. of the transport workers, or 75 per cent. of the whole.

Since the closing of the "Scissors," there has been a rise of wages as above described.

Wages and Benefits.—When to the rates of money wages are added the advantages represented by contribution from the industry for social insurance, worth from 15 per cent. to 20 per cent. of the wage; for educational institutions, worth 5 per cent.; for Factory Committees, worth 2 per cent.; and for welfare work required by the Labor Code (holidays, working clothes, grants for technical classes, etc.), worth any money up to 25 per cent.; and when to these are again added the advantages in respect of State and Municipal services, in the shape of relief from, or reduction of, rent and rates, and in the form of free tickets, etc., for excursions and entertainments—it seems safe to say that the present pay of the Russian worker is very much better than pre-war.

Productivity of Labor.—The productivity of Russian industry compares not unfavorably with that of Europe generally, where there has been a marked falling off in consequence of the war. Thus as the daily output of a coal miner in England was as low as 55 per cent. in 1921, and only 82 per cent. in 1922, in Russia the figure for a Don Basin coal miner was 77 per cent.

Wages have increased more rapidly than individual output. Between 1920 and 1924, wages increased five times but individual output only doubled. Between October, 1923, and March, 1924, wages increased 15 per cent., but the output only 8 per cent. Wages being now about 68 per cent. pre-war general productivity seems to be not more than about 60 per cent.

The improvement is due to a more intensive activity. In pre-war times the productivity of a British worker as compared with a Russian worker was as 1.55:1.16. The average working day was ten hours, but working days in the year were no more than 252. In 1921, with an eight-hour day, they were 214; in 1922, 254; in 1923, 263, or 88 per cent. of the calendar working days. Allowing for the liberal leave now given by law, and the usual average for sickness, this is fairly satisfactory.

(To be continued in next issue.)

A REPLY TO WOLFE'S UNCRITICAL "CRITIQUE"

(Continued from page 3)

sion as to dates is due to his pedantry in simply affirming to himself that any peaceful period of capitalism would have to fit neatly within the confines of the period of the hegemony of the textile industry. It is true that the rapid growth and dominant position of the textile industry furnished the basis for what Lenin has termed the "so-called 'peaceful development' of capitalism." But how? Not simply, as Wolfe tells us, "because the 'struggle for markets' with textile products as the typical export does not require spheres of influence, colonies, the intervention of states and armies, etc.", but also by the very fact of the expansion of the market itself. Capitalism was "boiling over" within its narrow state confines and the expansion of the market provided an escape valve. It was this that made posible comparative "class peace" in the home countries of capitalism. To conceive of the "peaceful" phase of capitalist history apart from the development of the class struggle, as Wolfe apparently does, is undialectical and un-Leninist. That the leaders of the Communist International do not have any such conception, is shown by the quotation from Bukharin's speech at the fourth congress, given above.

"How are we to combat socialist-Jingoism?" asks Lenin in his pamphlet on "The Collapse of the Second International." "The latter is opportunism which has become ripe, strong, and impudent, during the long, comparatively 'peaceful' era of capitalism." (page 53.)

Was this the second and third quarters of the 19th century? Was it in the revolutionary upheavals of 1830, 1848 and 1871 that opportunism became ripe, strong and impudent? Or was it in the parliamentary epoch which followed?

SUPER-PROFITS played their role in the development of the so-called "peaceful period." It is very important to bring this out here, because Comrade Wolfe's main trouble comes from the fact that he cannot think of super-profits except as an attribute of the later period of world imperialism. To him they belong only to the warlike era of capitalism whereas actually they were one of the bases for the establishment of the "peaceful period."

Bukharin, in his answer to Boris at the fifth congress of the Comintern, quotes Marx as follows:

"J. B. Say, in his comments on Constanzie's translation of Ricardo, made just one correct observation on foreign trade. Profits can also be made by cheating. One wins what the other loses. Gains and losses within a country cancel each other. But this is not the case between various countries. And even according to Ricardo's own theory —which Say does not notice—three working days of one country can be exchanged for one working day of another. Here the law of values must be essentially modified. Or, as highly skilled, complex labor within a country contains a certain proportion of unskilled simple labor, so the working days of one country can bear a certain proportion to the working days of another country. In such a case the richer country exploits the poorer. . . ."

And Bukharin adds: "The decisive factor is that we clearly see that this doctrine of super-profits of richer countries is an entirely Marxian doctrine."

In the paragraph quoted Marx is dealing with super-profits realized in trade, quite before the epoch of world imperialism—super-profits which can be realized from the sale of flannel underwear as well as from the sale of iron and steel.

IN my article on Labor and Empire I referred to the so-called "peaceful period of capitalism" to show not only that it rested on the extension of markets (in primitive countries, etc.) but also to explain how it damped down the class struggle at home—not just automatically, thru "capitalist stabilization," but thru the purchase of class peace. The possibility of working within the law bred reformism. But how was capitalism able to grant reforms and amelioration of the conditions of the workers? Thru the super-profits, which were partly shared with the upper strata of labor.

I was also interested to show that this did not put an end to the class struggle, but that it merely offered the chance to the opportunists to betray the class struggle and sell out to the capitalists. No article such as mine on Labor and Empire would be complete without a suggestion of how the opportunists and reformists betrayed the working class during the period of the so-called "peaceful" development of capitalism.

When textiles gave way to iron and steel as the dominant industry the problem of capitalism had become not simply one of extension of the market but also of export of capital, acquisition of raw materials, etc. Moreover, monopoly was displacing "free competition" in the home countries of capitalism. The race for colonial possessions was on, full blast. For these reasons, and because of the special attributes of the iron and steel industry which differentiate it from the peacefully expanding textile industry, this later period is characterized by increasingly war-like developments betwene nations and an intensification of the class struggle at home.

BUT it must not be supposed that this change came about all at once, or that it can be explained by the mere fact of export of iron and steel products instead of textiles. It is true that Wolfe mentions also the other factors (such as export of capital, colonies, spheres of influence, etc. —in short, imperialism) which must be considered in connection with the iron and steel industry. But can he maintain that imperialism was full-blown in 1871? Or that, as he says in his criticism, "the war-like period of capitalism in the Leninist sense, begins when Gomez says the peaceful period of capitalism begins?" (Emphasis his.) As a matter of fact, the so-called "peaceful" or "stabilization" period of capitalism continued and was actually further developed by some of the very factors which later became integrated into the system of imperialism (i. e. super-profits from the colonies.) The period lasted practically until the last decade of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

"Let us recall what induced a substitution of the present-day imperialist era for the former 'peaceful' era of capitalism," says Lenin in his "Collapse of the Second International." "The facts are that free competition has given way to capitalist monopolies, and that the whole globe has been divided up. It is clear that both these facts and factors have a real world significance. Free trade and peaceful competition were possible and necessary as long as there was nothing to hinder capital from increasing the number of its colonies and from seizing unoccupied lands in Africa and elsewhere. . . the division of the globe compels the rivals to pass from peaceful expansion to an armed struggle for a re-division of colonies and of spheres of influence." (page 29.)

And in his book on "Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism," he says:

"When the colonies of the European powers comprised one-tenth of the territory of Africa, as was still the case in 1876, then the colonial policy could yet develop non-monopolistically, that is, the development of the colonial policy could, so to speak, proceed along the lines of 'free seizure' of territory. But when nine-tenths of Africa was found to have been already occupied (about 1900), when the world was found to be divided, then inevitably ensued the era of monopolistic possession of colonies, and, what follows therefrom, of a particularly sharpened struggle for the division and re-division of the earth." (pages 126-7; Marxian Educational Society edition.)

REFERRING specifically to the United States, Wolfe objects to my having taken the strikes of 1870 to 1894 "as evidence that up till 1894 there was a war-like period (in the class struggle of this country) and after 1894 a peaceful period." Whereupon he declares innocently that "the strike epidemic in question was due to the world commercial crisis of the period." What is there in this to contradict my statement? Nothing. On the contrary, it merely serves to bear out my contention that the same general factors which had caused European capitalism to "boil over" took effect in the United States, "later and in a necessarily modified form."

My critic goes on to say that the "class peace" that followed 1894 was only relative, which of course, it was —altho it was marked enough for every outstanding writer on American labor history to take note of it. His comment on this is that the relative "class peace" "was caused by the expansion due to monopoly growth and other factors. . ." My only answer is that this is exactly what I have been maintaining.

But, says Wolfe, this "class peace" "is not the kind of 'peace' to which Lenin's quotation on 'peaceful period' refers." Here I must begin to differ with my critic again. Relative "class peace" within a country is naturally not all that is meant by the term, "so-called 'peaceful period' of capitalism"—indeed it may continue to prevail long after the nation in question is embarked on imperialist wars, as I think I have already shown. Nevertheless, the relationship between "class peace" and the so-called "peaceful period" as a whole is of fundamental importance. I refer my critic to the various quotations from Lenin which I have given above.

WOLFE blithely misrepresents me as having said in my article that the "peaceful" period in the United States, when strikes lessened in scope, number and intensity, "was purchased at the expense of the backward and undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thru the policy of imperialism."

What I did say was:

"In Europe, the social-democratic parties built themselves into mass organizations. The "peaceful period of capitalism" was an international phenomenon, as Lenin has shown us. It was purchased at the expense of the backward and undeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, thru the policy of imperialism."

It might be reasonably objected that the word "imperialism" is used somewhat loosely here, but the import of the above sentences is clearly quite different from what Wolfe's misquotation implies. If my critic questions that the so-called "peaceful period" was purchased at the expense of the backward countries, it would be well for him to re-read the following already quoted passage from Bukharin:

"Following the revolutionary epoch of the middle of last century, an entirely different historic epoch in the development of the capitalist system set in. It was the epoch of the gigantic growth of capitalism. This growth was chiefly based upon the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie, and the stupendous development of continental industry which was chiefly stimulated by the exploitation of the colonial peoples."

TO Comrade Wolfe's superfluous information that the world did not enjoy peace in the years "preceeding 1914" and his insulting assurance that "the Hague conferences were only the plaster on the ulcer," I find it unnecessary to reply except to say that they are in the same class with his nasty insinuation to the effect that I believe the so-called "miner" wars count for nothing because they were waged against black and yellow men and not between whites.

Comrade Wolfe finds fault with my explanation of how super-profits are wrung from the colonies and semi-colonies. I maintained in my article that in the last analysis super-profit may be said to result from: (1) the greatly increased rate of exploitation, (2) the exaggerated extension of monopoly characteristics in dependent countries, (3) the pressure of the imperialist state, (4) robbery of virgin resources. These four points include all the items cited by Wolfe—the low living standard, the inhumanly long hours, inhumanly low wages, dispossessing backward peoples from the land, and forced labor. Moreover, I went into most of these factors in detail.

I admit that I ought not to have said the rate of exploitation is reflected in the composition of capital employed. This is incorrect. The confusion is due to the fact that in one paragraph I speak of the rate of exploitation and in the following paragraph of the rate of profit.

NOW as to the section of my article dealing with the corruption of the bureaucratic trade union officialdom as well as a whole section of the upper strata of skilled workers (the labor aristocracy), thru their share in the super-profits. Wolfe speaks of many "mistakes" in this connection but he does not show a single one. It is untrue that the passage is vague or that I fail to draw a distinction between the union officialdom and the privileged workers making up the labor aristocracy.

I say in my article (page 422 of the Workers' Monthly):

"It is not only fakers that are corrupted in this way (thru a share in the super-profits), but the entire crust of the trade union movement, the so-called 'labor aristocracy' consisting principally of the most highly skilled workers and workers engaged in privileged trades."

On page 423 I go on to say: "The whole matter is not as simple as the payment of a bribe—altho in the case of reactionary trade union officials, bribery, "rake-offs" and the awarding of all sorts of contracts are no inconsiderable item. . . ."

"As for the labor aristocracy," I continue, "its share of the super-profits comes primarily in the form of increased wages—and indeed all other sources of its income (insurance schemes, etc.) really constitute an addition to wages."

I explain that "the selling out of the reactionary officials is in this sense a special problem which the workers will one day deal with as it deserves."

IN the passage quoted by Wolfe—I quite out of its context—I am referring to the labor aristocracy and not to the bureaucrats. Anyone who takes the trouble to read the entire paragraph from which this quotation is abstracted will convince himself of this at once.

I stand by the paragraph exactly as it is, and Wolfe's suggestion that I might have meant to say "former" where I said "latter" is sheer nonsense.

Comrade Wolfe's "critique" closes with a final misconception. He sets forth the novel idea that the export of capital does not help to build up a native capitalist class in the backward countries. According to him, it is not the export of capital that creates the native bourgeoisie, but the simple export of commodities. Does not Comrade Wolfe know that the existence of a powerful bourgeois class in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is comparatively recent? This class sprang into prominence with the general industrial development of the colonies and semi-colonies, a development which had been systematically retarded in the period when export was primarily of commodities, but which became an inevitable concomitant of the export of capital.

THE theses of the second congress of the Comintern declare:

"Owing to the imperialist policy of preventing industrial development in the colonies, a proletarian class, in the strict sense of the word could not come into existence until recently. The ingenious craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialistic countries, consequently a majority of the population was driven to the land to produce food, grains, and raw materials for export to foreign lands."

Obviously there could be no bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The entire system of capitalism in the backward countries was advanced by the export of capital from the imperialist nations. The monopolistic holdings of foreign finance capital could not stand alone, without a host of smaller native industrial and commercial enterprises growing up in their very shadow.

"The export of capital," says Lenin in his book on "Imperialism, "tends to hasten greatly the development of capitalism in the country to which it is exported." (page 66.)

IT cannot be denied that export of capital carries with it the tend-

(Continued on page 7).

Work of the Russian Communist Party Among Women

By Comrade Nikolayeva of the Russian Communist Party.

The active elements among the non-party working women were organized in such manner that circles were formed for the working women in the workshops and factories, by women comrades closely connected with the various shops, departments, etc.

Under the rule of the capitalist order, this form of work was the original form of the delegates' meeting. But since it was not possible at that time to hold delegates' elections in the factories, these circles were so organized as to permit the party nuclei to exercise influence over the masses of working women.

Nucleus Recruiting Center.

The circle was conducted under the leadership of the nucleus, it served to maintain communication between the nucleus and the masses of women workers, it was the recruiting center for gathering together more and more working women. The existence of such circles in the factories naturally led to systematic meetings among their organizers, to consistent and systematically conducted work.

Besides this, common meetings of all circles were held from time to time, in order that reports might be heard, a rapproachment made possible between the working women employed in different undertakings, the feeling of solidarity encouraged, and the members of the circles (and with these the broader masses of working women) revolutionized.

The organization of working women correspondents organized by the periodical Rabotnitza (The Working Woman), an organ published by the Central Committee of the Russian C. P., attained a position of great importance in our sphere of activity, not only for our agitation and propaganda but at the same time for the organization of the masses of working women. The working women immediately connected with the factories and with the editorial staff of our newspaper were successful in gathering the masses of non-party working women around our paper; this they attained by publishing notices, articles, and poems sent in by the working women, and by calling upon the women to support their own press organ.

By means of these measures, aided by the trade unions, the educational organizations and the workers' clubs, we were able to so organize and revolutionize the working women under the leadership of the party that the women have taken part in the strikes, and in the revolutionary actions entered into by the working class.

In the time during and after the February revolution, when our party was no longer obliged to work illegally, but was able to go forward to real mass work, the party activity in the women's circles changed in character, and was also enabled to advance more and more to mass work.

The small circles in the separate factories were now replaced by large groups of women workers, connecting the different workshops and departments with the masses of proletarian women. The Central Committee of our party received further aid thru the affiliation of a special commission for conferring on the work to be done among the women. This commission formed at the same time the editorial staff of the periodical Rabotnitza. It organized the work among the women, and ensured its being carried on under the leadership of the party. At the same time this commission was complemented by Communist women workers working in the factories and districts.

Women Workers' Meetings.

Besides the general factory meetings, special women workers' meetings were systematically organized by the groups of active women workers, under the leadership of the nucleus. At first the general mass of working women in the undertakings in question did not attend these meetings, but after a while, hand in hand with the development of our agitation, and with the increased organization of the active elements among the non-party women workers around our party, more and more women participated.

The working women, thus becoming accustomed to the women workers' mass meetings, now began to attend other meetings, bearing a politically fighting character. Thus for instance in July, 1917, when the party was again forced into illegal activity, nightly meetings were arranged in the name of the Rabotnitza, the sole Bolshevist press organ left existing, for the purpose of enlightening the masses on the meaning of the events in July, and on the treacherous role played by the mensheviki.

We sent special groups of working women to the meetings called by the mensheviki, to expose the true nature of the menshevist activity. Here we achieved positive results. We proceeded in the same manner at the meetings convocated by the "League for Women's Rights." At this time there was a mighty increase in the publication of leaflets, posters and other propagandist literature. We devoted special attention to our periodical, and its circulation increased rapidly.

We may claim that the whole of this work was eminently successful. The working women participated in enormous numbers in the street demonstrations in Leningrad on April 21, 1917, and in the June demonstrations. The preparatory work was carried forward not only by the party members but by a large number of non-party working women. Many of these came to the office of the Rabotnitza to ask how they could best prepare for the coming demonstrations.

Influence Soldiers.

Besides this, the working women carried on active agitation among the soldiers sent to Petrograd by the provisional government to suppress the Bolsheviki. The forward march of General Kornilov on Petrograd aroused not only the workmen, but the working women as well.

Then came the Red October, and with it fresh work. But fresh forces came as well, fresh energies, fresh strivings in the struggle and for the establishment of our workers' and peasants' state. Every working woman saw a mighty field of activity opened out before her. Now she had become a citizen possessing equal rights and now she could participate in the building up of the first workers' and peasants' state.

The party made this clear to many thousands of women workers and peasants. Day by day, and month by month, the party pursued its work of awakening fresh strata of the backward masses of working women. The party had frequently passed resolutions, at its congresses, to the effect that the organization of the broad masses of working women is one of the tasks incumbent on the whole party, and the party committees were thus induced to pay special attention to this sphere of work.

Now that the party had extended its influence to certain strata of the non-party working women, it became necessary to convocate conferences, first among the non-party women workers and later among the non-party women workers and peasants. The first of these conferences of non-party women workers took place in Petrograd before the October revolution. About 800 delegates were present, representing 80,000 working women. The conference declared its completely solidarity with the Communist Party of Russia (Bolsheviki) in its struggle for the power of the Soviets.

This conference was followed by a number of similar ones in all the industrial cities and districts of Russia. They proved of enormous organizational significance. The October revolution faced us with the necessity of perfecting these forms of activity, in order to reach the greatest number of working women in every branch of industry, and to organize at the same time the women peasants and other strata of working women.

Work Expands.

The departments already existing for work among the women were now developed into integral parts of the party apparatus, employing paid comrades. Up to this time, in the first and second working periods, none of the comrades carrying on this work were paid, except the comrade responsible for editing the newspaper. The whole of the members of the lower party apparatus performed their work for nothing, as a part of their duty as members of the party. Now, however, a central apparatus was formed and affiliated to the Central Party Committee, and special organs were provided for the lower party organizations. Every factory nucleus, and every Volost nucleus (rural district cell) appointed a special organizer for work among the women workers and peasants, and among the women of the other strata of the population. In every factory and village delegates' meetings of working and peasant women were organized, the delegates being however no longer volunteers, but elected.

Systematic conferences were now held among the women organizers, and the question of training suitable comrades for this work arose. Work among the women could now be carried on in complete harmony with the tasks confronting the party and the Soviet power.

Active in Red Army.

Thus for instance the working and peasant women aided the Red Army during the civil war, took part in the sappers' work, organized ambulance divisions, participated in the defense of towns, and performed every possible description of work. The actual participation of working and peasant women in the building up of the state became a reality. 40,000 peasant women became members of the village Soviets, thousands of working women worked in the city Soviets. Many hundreds of working and peasant women distinguished themselves not only in the civil war, but in every kind of civil service. Even the working women of the East, enslaved and suppressed for centuries, brought forth from their midst a considerable number of energetic women, capable of active participation in the constructive work of the Soviet power.

Millions of working and peasant women are represented by hundreds of thousands of women's delegates. The organized cadres of working and peasant women gathered around the Communist Party grow from year to year. The number of our women party members grows in proportion. The development of the institutions actuating the emancipation of working women, the abolition of illiteracy and the uplift of the cultural and political level of the broad masses of the working and peasant women, are winning millions of these women for the social and political life of our country, and for the constructive work of the Union of Soviet Republics.

In this sphere of work the party is following faithfully in the footsteps of Lenin.

A REPLY TO WOLFE'S UNCRITICAL "CRITIQUE"

(Continued from page 6)

ency to monopolize everything and thus to destroy the native bourgeoisie. The revolt against this is, as Wolfe says, a basis for the national liberation movements in the colonial countries. But side by side with this tendency is the conflicting tendency to build up capitalism in the exploited countries, which has the result that the native bourgeoisie grows with extraordinary rapidity instead of being destroyed. Here we have one of the fundamental contradictions of imperialist capitalism. Wolfe's failure to comprehend it leads him into the absurdly extravagant statements of his paragraph on the export of capitalism.

All in all, my critic's article shows the work of self-conscious student detached from reality, without an appreciation of the dialectic movement of things. For him the problem of imperialism is a matter of half a dozen simple formulas. I did not mark and ticket my article on Labor and Empire with the exact familiar phrases of these formulas, so Comrade Wolfe was inspired to display his knowledge of them. Unfortunately, his knowledge of them is rather uncertain, and appears to have been gleaned by more assiduous reading of Louis Boudin than of Lenin.

AN UNLENINIST ANALYSIS OF IMPERIALISM

(Continued from page 2)

unwittingly creates a native bourgeoisie On the contrary, it tends to destroy it. Again Gomez is confusing the export of commodities with the export of capital. Again the economic error implies a grave political one. If the export of capital creates a native bourgeoisie, then such native bourgeoisie should welcome imperialism and its gifts. But the export of capital destroys the native bourgeoisie by competition, by absorption, by monopoly concessions and by use of force—precisely for this reason, the native bourgeoisie fights against imperialism and is a potential ally in the struggle for national liberation which gives the proletariat its allies in the struggle with finance-imperialist capitalism.

Who does not understand the economic fact in question will not understand the political corrolary expressed in the theses on imperialism of the Comintern and will not be able to utilize, as we must and can, the national bourgeois revolutionary movements as partial allies in the struggle against capitalist imperialism, the final stage of capitalism.

John Lassen

By SIMON FELSHIN.

There was none gentler—
With a pleasantry in the last hour.

He fought to breathe,
But with so slight a frame
He lost to death.

He wished so little for himself,
And yet he was thwarted—
That is the way of the world.

His pen was a weapon
Against all the oppressors.

Though slight of frame
He shunned to rest.
Even a little rest
From the heaviest tasks.

He was a fighter—
One who does not surrender
Nor even falter.
He fought in two continents,
For which he was tracked
By all the oppressors.

His pen was not for sale.
Self was forgotten
For the holy cause
Of all the oppressed.

Japanese Textile Workers Slow Up As Blacklist Protest

NEW YORK, Aug. 21.—Textile trade reports from Kobe, Japan, state that woolen textile workers of Nippon Keori Kaisha at Kakogtwa, Harima province, are slowing up production because of the employers' discrimination against strike leaders who were active in the April fight.

The strike was over the attempted introduction of a "profit-sharing" scheme by the management. The strike on the job by slowing up work is continuing because the company refused to take back strike leaders prosecuted in the Himeji court altho the workers were not convicted and despite previous promises of the employers that all workers would be restored their jobs.

The Crisis Britain Postponed

When Comrades Foster and Cannon were in England on their way to the Enlarged Executive meeting of the Communist International, they asked the Communist Party of Britain to assign a representative to supply the DAILY WORKER, with a weekly review of the situation in Britain.

Thomas Bell, editor of the Communist Review, the official monthly of the party, has sent us the first article of this weekly service. This feature will insure our readers that the very critical and interesting situation in Britain will be adequately and authoritatively covered.

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LONDON, —By Mail—Special)—The coal crisis which has dominated the political situation here for weeks is postponed. The mine owners have accepted the government proposals for an "exhaustive inquiry" backed up by the substantial inducement of a subsidy. No details are available yet as to the terms of the subsidy, but authorities estimate it at no less than ten million pounds to cover the period of the truce. There is, of course, the usual howl in certain sections of the press anent the "hold-up of the nation" to ransom, and the home secretary has even brot in his King Charles' head, Comrade Zinoviev. The one definite fact, which emerges from the crisis is the united front of the workers' organizations. This display of solidarity upon a new and large scale undoubtedly forced the government and the mine owners to stay their hand.

It is estimated that the loss incurred during the 1921 strike of three months cost £200,000,000. Evidently, a ten million or even twenty million subsidy is considered cheap in the circumstances, for, it should be remembered, this crisis would have involved wider section of the workers than at any time in the history of British labor disputes.

What is interesting for readers of the DAILY WORKER is the shifting of labor's center of political direction. From the beginning the trade unions have retained mastery and control over the situation. Formerly, the parliamentary labor party was successful in lifting the reins out of the trade union leaders' hands. This time we had the uncourageous spectacle of Stephen Walsh (the war minister in the labor cabinet) leading a deputation to Ramsay MacDonald demanding in the event of a strike that the parliamentary labor party would hold up all business in the house of commons. And Ramsay MacDonald didn't read them any lecture in the beneficence of parliamentary or constitutional action, such as he is forever reading to the Communists, but respectfully promised to put the matter before the party.

It is also interesting to note that J. H. Thomas signed the direction to the transport workers not to move any coal.

While the dispute so far has been a distinct triumph for direct action, and labor leaders laughingly speak of taking out membership cards in the Communist Party it would be a mistake to read into events a definite political challenge to the government or capitalism. Neither Herbert Smith or Arthur Cook are prepared to push their victory to its logical conclusion, and call for the abdication of the "Forgers" government. They are not even insistent upon nationalization. They simply stick to the economic demand for a "living wage," with nationalization as a platitude.

But there is certain to be trouble ahead. When Mr. Baldwin told the miners that the wages of all the other workers must come down, it was no slip of the tongue. He means it. The dilemma before British industrialism compels the bourgeoisie to go in for a cut in wages.

The markets in Italy, Belgium, Germany and France, to mention but a few of the more important ones, are practically closed for British coal. In addition to reparation coal the developments of electricity and oil as fuel in Italy dispenses with the former demand for British coal. Germany is using millions of tons of lignite to meet her own demands, while fulfilling her coal and coke obligations under the Versailles treaty. Belgium and France are also funding reparation dumps an offset for British coal.

We can, therefore, only surmise that the retreat of the British mine owners and the government is a method for gaining time. Faced with an unexampled unity in trade unionism, and sections like the engineers and railwaymen also negotiating, it is obvious that an attempt will be made to split the ranks and tie up the sections with separate agreements.

One remarkable feature of events is the emergence of the Communist Party policy on the top. The party has blamed the miners' leaders for not having any positive program to put forward, and allowing the mine owners to choose the ground for the fight. It has demanded the maintenance of the seven hour day, the maintenance of the existing agreement and nationalization of the mines. It urged the miners to go to the general council of the T. V. C. and get it to involve the railwaymen and transport workers in the sympathetic strike. The increased demand for the Workers Weekly in the mining areas is proof to us of the party's increased prestige and influence.

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A big strike has taken place in the West Riding of Yorkshire, with Bradford as it center. 130,000 workers have struck work against a threatened reduction in wages. It is curious that England should be going thru a mining and textile crisis at a time when you in America are on the verge of disputes in similar industries. The woolen manufacturers here complain of the invasion of markets, hitherto monopolized by Yorkshire, by Italian, French and Dutch-made men's wear. These latter now sell freely in the London and provincial markets.

As usual the only way out for the bosses is a cut in wages. However, the textile workers are putting up a stiff fight and are encouraged by the results of the miners' solidarity.

The party is active in organizing the workers. Many meetings are being called under auspices of the party and the minority movement. The party has issued a manifesto to the workers to stand firm, and has sent two comrades into the area of the dispute to assist the strikers.

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This week-end concludes the Empire Labor Conference called by the parliamentary labor party. This is the first of its kind having delegates from Australia, Africa, British Guiana, Ireland, Canada, India, etc. What the purpose of this conference was is now plain to be seen, since its conclusion. No resolutions or amendments were permitted. Interruptions, such as when the Indian Chaman Lat, challenged MacDonald for his conduct during his ministry were impertinently glossed over and ignored. Some idea of the purpose of the conference may be gleaned from the questionnaire prepared for the delegates on their attitude to the metropolis in the event of war against England or an invasion of colonial territory. It is obvious that Mr. MacDonald is trying to find the weakest link in the chain of empire labor parties in order to formulate his colonial and foreign policy next time in accordance with the wishes of his bourgeois masters. MacDonald has declared for the unity and integrity of the empire (tho not on a basis of equality, for he would still deny India self-government). He still remains the best bulwark against Communism and social revolution.

On Saturday the 24th of July, under direction from colonial committee and London district called together a conference of all local labor organizations in London to discuss the situation in China and Morocco. 164 delegates turned up representing over 100 trade union branches, trades councils, local labor parties, cooperative women's guilds, etc. This conference marks a distinct success for our party in London. The conference sent a delegation to the Empire Labor Conference to demand the declaration of the right of Indian independence and separation from the empire. The delegation was refused admittance and when the letter was brot up Ramsay MacDonald simply moved next business. Still it came as a shock to the labor bureaucrats to think that such a large and representative conference could be openly called by the Communist Party and be attended by twenty to thirty local labor parties

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The Labor Party Conference this year promises to be a bit lively. The question of the exclusion of the Communists is again well to the front. It will be remembered that last year our comrades declared from the floor of the conference that notwithstanding the adverse vote on Communist affiliation we would return next year stronger than ever. This is actually happening. Over 76 branches of trade unions, trades councils, local and divisional labor parties are supporting resolutions in support of the Communist party.

Following upon the conference last year a special sub-committee was appointed to inquire into the operation of clause 3, which excluded Communists as delegates. Notwithstanding the volume of evidence to show how unoperable it was, the Executive Committee are going to propose to the next congress to ratify all three clauses and to go further and recommend to trade unions not to appoint Communists when selecting delegates to labor conferences.

You should know that there is a standing order which says that no question upon which a decision has been taken may be raised for three years unless with the consent of the Executive Committee. Nevertheless, C. P. affiliation keeps coming up each year in greater and greater volume. This year one large trade union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, moves to rescind all previous resolutions against the Communist Party.

Letters from Our Readers

What Ails The American Worker?

To the DAILY WORKER:— In a statement before the institute of politics of Williamstown, W. J. Castle of the state department enlightened once again the American people why Coolidge objects to the Soviets and is opposed to the recognition of the Soviet government of Russia. He attacked the Soviet as an "inciter of war." Soviet Russia who has just renounced all the territorial rights and claims of the old czarist government, "an inciter of war."

The revolutionary workers of the world have proclaimed that the exploitation of working men, women and children by a clique of selfish, greedy, parasitic individuals is as improper, unjust and out of date, as the old-time slavery and serfdom.

The Russian workers have accordingly abolished the old antiquated capitalist morals in favor of this higher standard of justice, which recognizes only one class, the working class, with no exploiting parasites and to which class all workers are welcome without distinction of race or color.

The Russian workers have fought valiantly and many paid with their lives.

The Workers' Soviet government is the most stable government in the world, at present, barring none. The red army is alert and ready to repel all attacks against the Soviet Union. And the red army has the solid and active backing from all the class conscious workers in every country of the globe.

That much is certain, but at any rate, it is in the interests of humanity as a whole, Soviet Russia as well as the rest of the world that normal relations be established and free trade resumed. Our industry is in a state of depression. Many of our factories are shut down, with the warehouses overstocked because of lack of markets. The Russian market could have absorbed a great part of our output of manufactured articles, agricultural implements, locomotives, steel products and machinery, if we had resumed normal intercourse with Soviet Russia. Even as our trade with Russia is restricted under the abnormal present conditions, it has been reported in the New York Times that the All-Russian Textile Syndicate has purchased this year $36,300,000 worth of cotton alone from the United States. One could imagine then to what enormous extent our exports of all kinds would have grown under free trade and more favorable relations with Soviet Russia.

The official report of the British Trade Union delegation to Soviet Russia, states: That transportation, industry and agriculture are steadily improving and that the finances of the Soviet Union have been placed on a stable basis.

The Franco-Belgian, German and Swedish labor delegations to Soviet Russia are all united in unanimous praise of the heroic struggle of the Russian workers and their unlimited triumph.

The reports of the workers' delegations to the Soviet Union give the lie most emphatically to the Greens, the Lewises and the other fakers of the A. F. of L. But will the rank and file of American labor allow these fakers to fool them forever? Have not the members of the A. F. of L. any self-respect? Can they still swallow the crazen calmnies about the Soviet Union in face of nearly all the European workers' delegations' reports?

It is high time that American labor should send its own delegation to Soviet Russia and learn for themselves the real facts and conditions in the workers' country.

A country of 130,000,000 is being run by the workers themselves. It is worthwhile studying and may come in handy some day.—Charles Golosman.

Corruption in Michigan.

Detroit, Mich.

Editor the DAILY WORKER: No wonder we have Ben Gitlow cases in America. A country where such an organization as the ku klux klan can exist is surely in a bad way. Under such conditions we can expect such decisions handed down by the supreme court. This decision was too rank for even justices Holmes and Brandeis, yet we find it suits traitors like Berger.

A few days ago I was told of a case which illustrates the rottenness of capitalist politics. A man named Fitzgerald was appointed about a year ago by Governor Groesbeck to a position in the state office building at Lansing. His salary is $6,000.00 per annum.

His title is Business Manager of the Highway Department which occupies the fourth floro of the building. He has theoretical duties which he has not the ability or experience to fulfill. But outside of this his important duty is to get rid of the anti-Groesback element. If an opposition party could get into power they would of course do the same.

Fraternally,

Civil Engineer.

GARY, IND., ATTENTION!

The DAILY WORKER, Workers Monthly, Rabotnicza Tribuna and Novy Mir are for sale at the Workers' Co-operative Restaurant, 1733 Broadway.